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High Court Postpones Decision

Military Pushes To Deport Abu Zayyad

In a surprise decision August 15, the Israeli High Court decided to look into evidence held by the military review board in the case of ex-prisoner Khalil Abu Zayyad, an Arab resident of Azzariyeh southeast of Jerusalem. This evidence had led the military review board to recommend August 11 that Zayyad not be deported, because he cannot be "directly linked to terrorist activities."

The Israeli army commander for the Central Region, Amnon Shahak, announced that the army would disregard the recommendation and go ahead with the deportation. Zayyad then appealed the decision to the High Court, which was due to rule on the case August 15. But the court postponed the hearing until August 27 in order to study the review board's decision further.

Abu Zayyad's lawyer, Amnon Zichroni, told *Al Fajr* that the High Court's decision was unprecedented. Usually the court accepts recommendations of the military review board. Zichroni also said that it was practically unheard of for a military review board to rule in favour of a Palestinian appellant.

Abu Zayyad's possible deportation created much attention in the local and foreign press. Khalil Abu Zayyad was arrested August 8 and charged with

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Top Israeli Officials Implicated in WB Land Scam

Police arrested three Israelis this week and found fraudulent land documents in their possession which have given new fuel to an investigation into land fraud on the West Bank. The case apparently goes way beyond the three detainees, perhaps to the top echelons of the Israeli government. The land scam involves thousands of West Bank dunums which were acquired illegally through extortion, forgery, violence, and intermediate Arab land dealers (*simsars*) who were willing to turn over Arab land to Israeli settlers for a substantial cut of the profit.

The investigation was apparently triggered because prospective Israeli buyers were also victims of the fraud ring. Several hundred thousand dollars paid by Israelis for West Bank land were lost when it turned out that the land was not legitimately owned by the dealers who sold it.

Late in July, the police arrested three Israelis — Avraham Salim, Michael Oren, and Yehoshua Mizrahi — on suspicion of involvement in a counterfeit dollar ring. Mizrahi was formerly the military governor of Tulkarm. Oren is a high-ranking police officer, also in Tulkarm, and Salim is a land dealer. A subsequent police search of their homes, however, uncovered hundreds of documents including power of attorney statements, land registrar deeds and receipts. The land deeds were still blank except for signatures at the bottom. Police suspect the signatures are forgeries.

Upon their arrest, the three Israelis claimed they were working on behalf of top government officials and that they knew enough "to bring down the government." Their advocate, Menahem Rubenstein, told the press that the three were just "small fry" in a larger sea. "The whole affair is a bundle of political dynamite," he said.

In the Tel Aviv district court, Rubenstein told the judge that there was at least one senior "high-ranking" public figure masterminding the deals. He wrote the name of the 'top official' on a piece of paper for the judge to see, but so far it has not been made public. Other than the three Israelis, no one else has been questioned or arrested in connection with the affair.

Palestinian legal experts told *Al Fajr* that these top figures might be Industry and Housing Minister Ariel Sharon, who served as Agriculture Minister in the Likud government and Deputy Prime Minister David Levy, who served as Housing Minister under the Likud.

Sources in Nablus told *Al Fajr* that one of the suspected Arab land dealers (*simsars*) who was implicated in the scandal is Ahmad Irar from Hiblah village near Qalqilya. Irar is notorious for possessing a great fortune. He built a fortress-like home in the village and decked it out with sophisticated security apparatus and armed guards. Irar reportedly contributed US 30,000 dollars to the Likud faction during the last election campaign. He is also connected to the Village Leagues. In the eary 1980s, a Jordanian court sentenced Irar to death *in absentia*.

Nablus advocate Hussam Fatouh who represented dozens of Arab landowners in land fraud cases in West Bank courts told *Al Fajr* that the case of fraud was known to Israeli police for at least six years but that they did not act sooner because of political pressure on the part of Israeli government officials and because "the fraud was mainly between powerful Israeli individuals and helpless Arab farmers." The minute Israelis are defrauded the whole system boils over and the issue is publicised, Fatouh said.

Only after Israeli individuals and real estate companies were defrauded by Israeli land dealers in the West Bank did the Israeli police initiate a probe. Numerous Israelis had bought thousands of dunums which they thought were part of approved and soon-to-be established settlements on the West Bank, only to discover later that the land was not designated for settlement and that it did not even belong to those who sold it.

Thousands of Arab plots have been extorted through violence and roguery, particularly in the Nablus-Qalqilya area. Landowners in that area have filed hundreds of legal complaints ever since settlements began to crop up there in the late 1970s. Most of these cases remain unresolved. A fire in the Nablus court last year ate up hundreds of land fraud files delaying or permanently foiling many Arab attempts to regain their land through legal means. The arsonist was never caught.

Another curious evidence-disappearing act was made public August 6. Three years ago, police had begun an investigation and collected over 200 complaints from Arabs in the West Bank who said their land had been taken from them by threats and force. The file was kept in a safe in a Tel Aviv court. "When top police officials tried to get hold of the file to study its contents, it turned out that the only thing left of it was its cover," according to a report in *Yediot Aharonot* August 13. The contents were gone.

"This is only the tip of the iceberg," said a police official quoted in *Yediot Aharonot* August 13. "This whole business is a time-bomb. The country will feel the ripples for a long time to come."

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Three participants in the Arab Summit – King Hassan of Morocco, Yasir Arafat of the PLO, and King Hussein of Jordan – meet briefly at the conference.

Arab Summit Takes No Stand on Amman Accord

The Arab summit conference in Casablanca concluded its session August 9 with a joint statement including very little on the problem of the Palestinians. Instead, the very fact that the several states met in summit at all was the conference's major accomplishment.

The Amman agreement between the PLO and Jordan was never clearly endorsed. Though expected to be the main topic of discussion at the summit, the agreement was not mentioned in the final summit communique. The statement issued by the participating states did express appreciation to PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat and Jordan's King Hussein for their detailed explanation of the agreement and their assurances that the agreement was "in harmony" with the Fez plan of 1982.

The summit reaffirmed the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. It also supported an international conference within the framework of the UN as the most effective means of achieving peace in the Arab region. The participating states at the summit reaffirmed their commitment to the PLO's support and to the people of the occupied territories.

Clearly the most significant step made at the summit was the formation of committees to clear the air between feuding Arab states in preparation of the main Arab League meeting in Riyadh in November. Committees were formed to mediate the differences between Jordan and Syria, Iraq and Syria, Iraq and Libya, and Libya and the PLO.

Morocco's King Hassan was authorised to communicate the Arab cause clearly to the Soviets and Americans before the expected summit between the two superpowers.

The summit surprisingly avoided the issue of changing the Arab League charter to allow for the passage of resolutions by simple majority instead of unanimous vote. It also avoided asking Egypt to rejoin the Arab fold which reportedly infuriated President Mubarak of Egypt.

The Arab summit, which was boycotted by Syria, Lebanon, Algeria, Libya and Democratic Yemen, stirred up yet another controversy in the Arab world in general and specifically among the Palestinians.

Palestinian factions opposed to PLO Chairman Arafat strongly attacked the conference. In Damascus a communique for the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) called for the convening of "national and progressive Arab forces in order to discuss the dangers facing the Arab nation." The Democratic Front said in a statement that the paragraph about Palestine represented an escape from commitments made in the previous Arab summits.

Farouk Kadoumi, head of the political department of the PLO, said in an interview that the PLO still enjoys a prominent place within the Arab family. He said, however, that it would be difficult for a while to re-establish ties with the Arab countries which boycotted the conference, particularly Syria.

In the occupied territories, differing opinions concerning the summit were expressed in the newspapers. The pro-Jordanian *Al Quds* daily indicated that the Arab leaders were not meeting their responsibility by not attending but noted that the door was left open to restore Arab solidarity. *Al Fajr* daily said that the greatest achievement of the summit was the reaffirmation of the PLO as the sole representative of the Palestinian people everywhere and on every level.

Al Tali'a weekly noted that the strong opposition to the meeting caused some of the main topics on the agenda to be pushed aside.

In the Arab world the general mood was that the conference did not make any progress. Official Syrian media strongly attacked the conference calling it one of the weakest in the history of the Arab League. The Syrian paper *Teshreen* said that the absentees had left their impact on the conference and that those are the ones who will decide the aims of the Arab nation. In Tunis the *Al Masa* paper stated that the summit has left feelings of bitterness and frustration. In Aden *Al Thawri* newspaper called the conference a failure.

Several newspapers in the Gulf, however, indicated that the summit was a success since its aim was to clear the air in the Arab World. Taher al-Masri, foreign minister of Jordan, evaluated the way the summit tackled the Amman agreement as positive and clear. He said, however, that getting an endorsement for the agreement was not on the conference agenda.

Al Fajr staff congratulate colleague Awad Abdel Fattah and his wife Fathiya on the occasion of the birth of their son

Ashraf

August 5, 1985

Anti-Deportation Activists Hold Press Conference

In a campaign against the intended deportation of Arab residents from the occupied territories, a press conference was held August 12 by the Action Committee Against Deportation (ACAD) at the Israeli Government Press Office. The newly formed committee is made up of both Arabs and Jews.

One speaker at the press conference was Mahmoud Tamari, 35, a Palestinian ex-prisoner released May 20 in the prisoner-exchange between the PLO and Israel. Tamari is one of 30 freed prisoners recently notified by the Israeli authorities of plans to deport them. Tamari expressed his deep desire to be allowed to live quietly with his family in Bethlehem.

Tamari explained that one of the conditions of the prisoner-exchange was indeed an agreement to give the right to all freed prisoners to choose where to stay. "We chose to stay here because our homes, families, and land are here. We were surprised by the decision of the authorities to deport us."

Tamari said he had been working outside the country when the 1967 war broke out. After the occupation of his home by the Israeli military, he applied many times through his father for a family reunion visa. His requests were repeatedly refused. In despair, Tamari felt he had no other way but to arm himself and cross the Jordan River in 1969 in an attempt to return home. He was arrested by the military and sentenced to 20 years in jail.

Tamari concluded his statements by applying to the authorities to let him and other freed prisoners live in peace enabling them to support their large families in this difficult economic situation.

Attorney Lea Tsemel, who represents 12 of the 30 prisoners threatened with deportation also addressed the press. She said that she had applied to the Israeli High Court and received an order *nisi* barring the deportation of her clients until their cases can be heard by the court on August 15.

Tsemel stressed that all her clients are Palestinians living here before or after the occupation. "They have no other native country except this," said Tsemel. She said that most of her clients had served the majority of their sentences and were not charged with causing harm to any Israeli civilians or soldiers.

In a related story, Raya Rotem, spokesperson for the committee and a member of the Committee for Solidarity with Bir Zeit University, said she filed a complaint with the Israeli minister of defence against two Israeli officers. Rotem said she was harassed and cruelly treated at the outskirts of Ramallah as she was going to participate in a planned demonstration August 10 against the intended deportation of Khalil Abu Zayyad, who had been arrested two days earlier.

Rotem said two officers at a checkpost stopped the taxi she was in and told the passengers that Ramallah was declared a closed military zone. They told her Israelis were not allowed in. Rotem asked to be shown a written order stating as such, but she was ordered to obey without objection.

Rotem and another colleague tried to enter the city by another road but were stopped again by an officer who aimed his gun at them and threatened to fire. Another officer interfered and told Rotem that had she been an Arab he would have killed her instantly.

Rotem and her colleague were then arrested. Two other Israelis were also detained in Ramallah the same day and 10 others were barred from demonstrating in front of the Israeli military governorate in Ramallah. A few members of the committee held a sit-in in front of the Abu Zayyad home in Bethany.

Committee member Raya Rotem addresses members of the press at the conference at Beit Agron, Jerusalem. She is joined by lawyer Lea Tsemel (left) and freed prisoner Mahmoud al-Tamari (right). /AO photo

An Israeli soldier stands guard at a military checkpost at one of the entrances to Hebron.

4-Day Curfew Clamped on City

Settler Stabbed in Hebron

Israeli military authorities imposed a four-day curfew on the centre of Hebron August 10 following a knife attack on a Jewish settler from the nearby Kiryat Arba settlement. The city was reportedly tense as Israeli soldiers conducted house-to-house searches for the attackers. Jewish settlers and other extremist groups vowed to avenge the attack, and Israelis were advised to arm themselves for self-defence when entering Palestinian communities.

Ya'acov Reiter, a Kiryat Arba settler from the US, was stabbed several times with a switchblade as he walked through the centre of the West Bank town. The Arab residents of Hebron have been targeted with an intensive settlement and harassment campaign since the Jewish settlement was constructed in 1968.

Reiter, having survived the attack, was rushed to an Israeli hospital in Jerusalem where he is listed in fair condition. An immediate curfew was imposed on the centre of town. Despite the arrest by the Israeli military of dozens of Hebron residents, there were no reports of the attackers' arrest.

Armed settlers and supporters of extremist MK Meir Kahane and his group Kach soon gathered at the scene of the attack and were reported to have vowed revenge. Large units of the Israeli army surrounded the place and prevented contact between them and the Arab residents, most of whom had closed their shops and rushed home.

The Israeli army closed off the entrances to the public bazaars and vegetable market with iron gates and barbed wire. The attack area was then declared a closed military zone until further notice. Dozens of shop-owners and merchants were affected by the collective punishment measure.

Taking advantage of the curfew, a group of Kiryat Arba settlers entered the curfew area late on the night of August 12 and took over an Arab house whose owners where out of town at the time. The zealots raised an Israeli flag on the roof and declared it Israeli property. Israeli military authorities ignored their action for 24 hours before finally evicting them. It was unclear why the army did not act promptly to prevent them from entering the curfew area or evict them sooner. They were not charged with breaking and entering nor for violation of the curfew. *Al Fajr* has learned that the settlers returned to the house August 15 where they held morning prayers. A group of Knesset members joined them, including Tehiya's Geula Cohen. Dozens of Israeli soldiers soon arrived at the scene and evicted the settlers. The settlers and Knesset members reportedly chanted Zionist slogans and hurled obscenities at soldiers and Arab bystanders.

Immediately following reports of the attack, Jewish settler activists in the West Bank began calling for the resurrection of underground Jewish terrorist organisations. Twenty-two leaders of the previous terror underground were tried and convicted for murdering several Arabs and planning to destroy Islamic religious shrines, including al-Aqsa Mosque in Jerusalem.

Settler activists had claimed that the terrorist underground was formed — and could be resurrected — because of the Israeli army's inability to fully suppress Arab resistance activities in the occupied territories. Head of the Council for Jewish Settlements in the Occupied Territories, Othiel Schneller from America said August 11 that "thrusting responsibility on "citizens" rather than on the security forces is what led and could again lead to the establishment of an independent organisation for "Jewish defence." The 1980 attacks on three Palestinian mayors and subsequent attacks on the Hebron Islamic University in which three students were killed were considered by Jewish settlers as defensive acts to preserve Israeli presence in the West Bank.

Schneller, whose organisation is primarily responsible for the settling of over 15,000 Israelis among Palestinian residents in the occupied territories, condemned the Israeli government for not providing enough security for settlers and "imposing the security burden on the 'citizens.' " Schneller was reacting to a government call to the settlers to carry arms when they entered Palestinian communities. Shlomo Goren, the coordinator of government activities in the occupied territories, had earlier said that "Jews going through heavily populated Arab areas must be armed and see to it that they are accompanied, or that protection is provided."

The attack on the Jewish settler is the second incident in a month in the West Bank. An Israeli from Afula was killed in Nablus July 30, following an intensive campaign of repression by the Israeli government against the residents of the occupied territories. The military closed an-Najah University in Nablus for two months, rearrested former freed prisoners and declared their intention to deport those who carry out resistance attacks against Israelis.

Dheisheh Social Centre Won't Reopen

"UNRWA (United Nations Relief and Works Agency) never requested that the Social Centre for Youth in Dheisheh refugee camp be reopened," the Israeli authorities responded to a query from the Ramallah-based Law in the Service of Man (LSM). UNRWA officials had told Dheisheh residents that they were discussing the social centre with the Israelis.

Hassan Abd al-Jawad, head of the Dheisheh Social Centre, commented to *Al Fajr* on the Israeli reply saying, "A delegation representing the centre administration met last week with the head of the UNRWA office in Hebron. The meeting was practical, and many camp problems were discussed like reopening the centre, sewage problems, and cement for the camp to pave new roads. The UNRWA official promised to help in solving those problems, and the delegation left full of hope."

Abd al-Jawad added, "We are sorry to hear that UNRWA helped to block reopening the centre. This new UNRWA policy is harmonious with that of the authorities especially the decisions to eliminate food rations and academic and health services. It is a general policy aimed at imposing unwanted solutions on us."

Mohammed Jaralla, Public Relations Director for UNRWA, told *Al Fajr* that UNRWA did not officially request that the centre be reopened, but the issue was raised on many occasions with the authorities. "They told us that the centre was closed for security reasons and it will be reopened when these reasons disappear. The security matters," Jaralla said, "are the responsibility of the host country."

The Israelis closed the centre in April of 1983. Dheisheh residents have since submitted many requests that it be reopened, but to no avail. The centre is the only social institution in the camp. It houses an athletic and cultural club, and before the closure, organised camp residents to carry out voluntary social work for the camp's 10,000 inhabitants, because there are no such services in Dheisheh. Centre members and volunteers participated in paving roads, plastering a school library, and rendering other services for the two preparatory schools in the camp. The centre tried within a limited budget to help poor and needy families, especially those of prisoners, and organised celebrations and folklore activities as well.

Since the centre was closed, the directors continued to tend to the many basic problems Dheisheh faced, including the nearby quarry which poses a severe health hazard to camp residents. The centre administration has been following up the case in court.

They are also helping students in various ways. Seminars to prepare for the *tawjihi* were held and financial assistance offered to students who want to attend local universities. The centre was financed by dues from its nearly 700 members and donations.

Army Bars 3 Students From Bethlehem U.

Three Bethlehem University students have been barred from attending class this coming semester by military order, *Al Fajr* has learned. Akram Attallah, Kamil Abu Hmaid and Jabra Shomali were recently informed by the military authorities that they could not enter the university campus for six months. They were charged with inciting other students to nationalistic expression.

Attallah, a third-year Business Administration major and resident of Dheisheh refugee camp, received his surprise order last week. He was told he could not enter the campus or its immediate vicinity. He was also told he had to prove his presence by reporting to the Bethlehem police station at noon every day for six months. Kamil Abu Hmaid, a third-year English major, received similar notice.

Jabra Shomali, who headed the university student government last year, lacks only six credit hours to graduate with a BA in Sociology. He received the military order during last year's final exams but managed to write them anyway. He told *Al Fajr* that he hoped for university cooperation to help him finish his degree this year. As it stands now, he will have to wait until the next academic year provided that his restriction order is not extended.

Shomali told *Al Fajr* that the restriction orders were designed as a warning measure to university students that the Israeli government is increasing its declared repressive activities against Palestinian national institutions. "It is not an individual punishment directed at me and the other two, or even at Bethlehem University as a whole, but rather at the Palestinian population all together," he said.

Israeli authorities closed Nablus an-Najah University for two months August 2, only two weeks before the spring semester ended and only eight months after it was reopened following a similar closure. The an-Najah closure was also seen as evidence of the repressive 'iron fist' campaign by the Israelis.

Ten students from Najah University were barred earlier this summer from campus for six months. Marwan Barghouti, head of the Bir Zeit Student Council, was also barred for six months in July.

Palestinian Surgeon Performs Heart Transplant

MD Daoud Hanania, 51, performed the first heart transplant in the Middle East August 10. The Palestinian physician operated successfully on 23-year old Abdullah al-Khalil from Jordan.

Dr Hanania made the decision to operate shortly after hearing that a compatible heart was available. The father of a Jordanian soldier killed in an Amman car accident gave permission for the transplant of his deceased son's heart.

The recipient al-Khalil reportedly suffered from a disease which had left his heart so damaged that doctors only gave him one month to live. Dr Hanania termed the four-hour operation a success and said that al-Khalil regained consciousness only two hours after the operation. Al-Khalil was reported to be rapidly improving, able to eat solid food and walk on his own only three days following the transplant.

The story received much coverage in the Jordanian press and both Dr Hanania and al-Khalil received the congratulations of King Hussein and his government.

Dr Hanania is from Jerusalem and is a graduate of Oxford University. He is head of the Cardiology Department at al-Hussein Medical City in Amman, one of the most advanced medical centres in the Middle East.

Murphy Begins Another ME Tour in Amman

Palestinian, Jordanian and American diplomats moved into high gear this week as US Assistant Secretary of State Richard Murphy touched down in Amman August 13 to begin another Middle East tour that will include Israel, Egypt and possibly other Arab countries. It is still unclear whether or not Murphy will meet the joint Palestinian-Jordanian delegation during his present visit.

US Secretary of State George Shultz sent a message to Israel's Prime Minister Shimon Peres as Murphy embarked on his present mission, assuring him that Murphy will not meet the joint delegation unless the US receives assurances that direct negotiations with Israel would follow.

In Amman, Murphy met with Jordan's King Hussein and his Prime Minister, Zeid al-Rifa'i August 14. Reports from Amman say that Murphy's lengthy meetings with the Jordanian monarch were aimed at working out differences between the American side and the Arab side. Jordanians and Palestinians are advocating an international conference or some kind of international sponsorship for prospective direct negotiations. The US State Department spokesperson indicated August 14 that Washington "had not forbidden Murphy to hold such a meeting." Murphy, however, is said to be disputing the names of individuals nominated by the PLO to be on the Palestinian side. The names of the Palestinian candidates to the delegation were transmitted to the US three weeks ago. Radio Monte Carlo reported August 14 that the US approved four Palestinians on the list. The four are: Palestine National Council (PNC) Secretary Mohammed Sbeih, Arafat adviser and PNC member Nabil Sha'ath, both of whom are living in Cairo, Gaza advocate Fayez Abu Rahmeh and *Al Fajr* Editor Hanna Siniora.

Abu Rahmeh and Siniora were in the Jordanian capital this week just in case. Siniora told reporters before leaving for Amman that no meeting with Murphy had been officially scheduled. The Israeli press, however, reported that a meeting might take place August 20. Abu Rahmeh, who had left the occupied territories three weeks ago on a private visit to Arab Gulf states, returned to Amman early this week.

In Israel, officials were reportedly worried about the possibility that Murphy might actually meet the joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation. Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir said he was totally opposed to the US holding talks with what he called a "delegation of PLO members" without the approval of the Israeli government. He also opposed the meeting because Israel will not be a party to the talks. Asked if the delegation members should have been barred from leaving for Amman, Shamir replied: "It wouldn't have hurt, in any case it might have more clearly underscored our opposition to this step."

Prime Minister Peres expressed his displeasure at the American move by summoning former Gaza mayor Rashad Shawwa to his private residence for talks August 13. Israeli papers reported that Peres wanted to show the Americans who the Israelis would prefer to represent the Palestinians. Peres had earlier met with Bethlehem Mayor Elias Freij and Jordanian parliament member Hikmat al-Masri. All three Palestinians are known for their close ties with Jordan.

PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat arrived in Amman August 12 on private business. He extended his stay until following King Hussein's talks with Murphy, on which he hoped to be briefed.

Probe Shows Israeli General Used Excessive Force

The Israeli Attorney General Yitzhak Zamir recommended that legal action be taken against the Israeli army's chief paratroop and infantry officer, Brigadier-General Yitzhak Mordechai, for his role in the death of two Palestinian commandos who hijacked an Israeli bus in April 1984. Five General Security Services men, three policemen and three soldiers will probably be tried as well.

Earlier on August 6, a special Israeli team completed a 14-month long inquiry into the deaths of the two Palestinian commandos and recommended that Mordechai be charged with "excessive use of force and improper conduct." The investigation commission's report, parts of which were released, stated that there was first-hand evidence that he had struck the captured hijackers with his pistol.

The two Palestinian fighters — Majdi Abu Jame' and Jamal Qabalan, both from Beni Isheila village in the Gaza Strip — were killed by repeated blows to the back of the head when soldiers repeatedly struck them with their gun butts. The Israeli army announced after the hijacking that the two died during the course of a rescue attempt by the Israeli army when they stormed the bus to rescue the passengers. It wasn't until later that the Hebrew and international press, particularly the Hebrew daily *Hadashot* and *The New York Times*, published detailed stories alleging that the two youths were killed in cold blood after being captured alive.

According to the investigation team's findings, which were not officially published, the two commandos were led alive from the hijacked bus after it was stormed by the Israeli army. It was established that Mordechai was seen leading the two commandos away. The Israeli weekly *Koteret Rashit* reported several months ago that Mordechai was being investigated for his responsibility for the killings.

Israeli military sources, however, indicated that Mordechai will face a disciplinary court rather than be court-martialled, according to *The Jerusalem Post*.

Attorney Felicia Langer, who represents one of the two commando's families, expressed dissatisfaction with the report. "What I see does not appeal to me very much," she said. She is going to apply to the authorities to have access to the complete report.

Jordan Demands Unionist's Dismissal

Jordanian authorities recently demanded the dismissal of veteran unionist George Hazboun from his position as secretary of the Union of Public Institutions Workers in Bethlehem. *Al Tali'ah* weekly reported August 15. Jordan demanded the dismissal as a precondition for the release of funds to the union.

The Joint Jordanian-Palestinian Committee provides small financial allotments to unions and other institutions in the occupied territories to help them meet expenses. For the past two years such allotments have been denied to all unions voicing opposition to Jordanian policy and which adhere to the rights of our people and its national independence, *Al Tali'a* said.

Hazboun said that members of his union travelled to Jordan to seek the release of funds. They, however, were ordered to see the Jordanian intelligence officers, who told them that Hazboun's resignation was a condition for releasing the funds.

The most recent Jordanian demand was denounced by Palestinian unionists who considered it blatant interference in the unions' affairs. Hazboun's union issued a statement describing the Jordanian condition as "disgusting" and calling upon all nationalists to condemn it.

Hazboun was one of the founders of the union 20 years ago and has been its secretary for 18 years. He is a member of the executive committee of the General Federation of Unions in the West Bank. He has been detained a number of times by Israeli authorities, and has been under town-arrest for nearly a year in Bethlehem.

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The Cruelest Measure

Last week the Israeli military arrested, in preparation for deportation, Khalil Abu Zayyad, a Palestinian resident of the West Bank town of Azzariyeh (Bethany). Abu Zayyad's arrest came only days after the Israeli cabinet unanimously voted to step up punitive measures against the 1.5 million Palestinians in the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip.

Of all the punitive measures adopted by the Labour-Likud government and warmly embraced by the Israeli military establishment, deportation is the cruelest. It means dislodging the individual, separating him from his family, and extracting him from his roots, history and culture.

When Abu Zayyad's charge list was drawn up to justify his planned deportation, it sounded as if the former 10-year political prisoner was Yasir Arafat in disguise. With such a charge list, one would expect that Abu Zayyad would be put back in prison for life, not deported. The military knew however that the 10 years Abu Zayyad spent in prison did not break him, they only made him a leader by the military's own admission. Deportation, the military calculates, will inflict more severe and permanent damage on Abu Zayyad.

The dangers inherent in Abu Zayyad's case are tremendous, considering the fact that the Israeli military establishment is insisting on deporting him even after an Israeli military court ruled that the charges were not substantiated. This military attitude means that every single Palestinian is vulnerable to deportation without any protection. Such deportations are not meant to serve as punishment or deterrent but are a direct fulfilment of Zionist ideology. Although calls for mass expulsion of Palestinians are today only made by extremists like MK Meir Kahane, the unspoken wish is present in many Israeli hearts, and it is increasingly verbalised nowadays. A mass expulsion would resolve the irresoluble dilemma facing Israelis who want to annex the West Bank and Gaza Strip without giving the Palestinians equal rights and without instituting apartheid. Any plan that would allow Israel to keep the land without the people is highly welcomed and encouraged. If this is not a cruel violation of the most basic of human rights, what is? When the apartheid regime of South Africa recently enacted emergency laws to quell black nationalist sentiments, the whole world became sharply critical, including Israel's prime minister. In the United States liberal circles led many protests demanding a boycott of the South African regime, economically and politically. European countries moved to withdraw their ambassadors, and the UN recommended voluntary economic sanctions.

Sadly enough, Israel's use of the 1945 British Emergency Laws, which were termed "inhuman" by many Jews in the mandate era, against the indigenous population of the occupied territories did not even receive a whisper of protest from the American anti-apartheid liberals or from most of the world.

There is no room left for the double standard politics. What is happening in the Israeli-occupied West Bank and Gaza is no less serious than what is going on in South Africa. The Palestinian people therefore demand that the injustice done to them receive worldwide condemnation, particularly from human rights organisations everywhere.

Going Bananas

by Baher Ashhab

There can only be three explanations, from a Palestinian point of view, for the latest wave of oppressive measures directed at the Arab inhabitants of the West Bank and Gaza, measures which include administrative arrests and detention, deportations, and arbitrary closures of a Palestinian newspaper, theatre complex and university. All these measures were apparently triggered by the recent killing of three Jewish residents of Afula, two near their home town and one in Nablus.

The first explanation falls into the category of retaliation or more precisely retribution. Following the killings, right-wing elements in the Israeli political establishment (including the Likud, Kach, Tehiya and Gush Emunim) tried to outdo themselves in advocating severe punitive measures to be inflicted upon the Arabs. Their various demands included reactivating the death penalty (Kach, Tehiya), mass deportations (Kach, Tehiya and Gush Emunim), and a general 'iron fist' policy which would entail closure of educational, cultural and charity organisations and reactivating the 40-year-old emergency laws. This policy, called for by practically all political and settler streams in the Israeli political arena, was promptly adopted by Shimon Peres.

The hypothesis that retribution was the motive may appear valid at first sight. But there is more to the story. Israeli policy makers know from experience that these hocus pocus measures will not sway the 'delinquent' Occupied Territoryians back onto the road of tranquility and restraint. That will only be possible with the abolition of repressive military rule and the unconditional sovereignty of the people. Since their unwelcomed intrusion into the West Bank and Gaza on June 6, 1967, the Israeli military establishment has not hesitated to use any form of any iron fist policy known to man. They have publicly afflicted over 1500 mutilations of existing laws to the utmost disadvantage of the occupied; dispossessed the occupied of over 52 percent of their lands; demolished thousands of houses; put hundreds of Palestinians under town arrest for their political views; stopped demonstrations by tear gas and firing live bullets into crowds, etc. Though it produced a general sense of passivity and depression among the Palestinians, the iron fist policy did not prevent individual or organised resistance attacks on Israeli targets. In fact it seems to fuel them, especially when coupled with perplexing economic conditions that are directly related to the linkage of the occupied territories' economy to the ailing Israeli one.

Thus however severe and oppressive, these measures will not reap tranquility and restraint but rather the exact opposite. Oppression leads to violence and violence leads to more oppression which leads to more violence which leads to more oppression bang bang bang – a vicious circle.

The second hypothesis has to do with the internal power dynamics of Israeli politics. Characters like Kahane, Sharon and Geula Cohen have taken advantage of the general feeling of defeat and self-doubt that overcame the Israeli public after the Lebanon War, the state of chaos in the economy, and the increasing feuds between left and right wingers, orthodox and secular believers, western and eastern Jews, to offer themselves as the only hope for survival for the Jewish entity. These individuals have also suggested that the Arabs inside the 'green line' and the occupied territories are *the* cause for Israel's troubles and that their outright expulsion is the only solution. Kahane's tactics of terrorising and molesting Arabs are widely known and have somehow attracted the attention and support of a large section of Israel's population, mainly the young, the unlearned and the Sephardi Jews. Kahane and his fellow extremists have been predicted to gain much ground if an election is held soon. If the Labour and Likud parties are to remain a viable choice for voters, they have to outdo or at least equal Kahane's tactics. The Arabs in the West Bank and Gaza were sure to be the guinea pigs, together with Palestinian bases and refugee camps in Lebanon (the latest attack was August 9) and Jordan, where Palestinian guerrilla bases are being set up according to Industry Minister Ariel Sharon. Threats reminiscent of the pre-invasion rhetoric in 1982 deepen disillusionment and stir up unrest in the area.

No one in his right mind can doubt that the ultimate goal of the Zionist establishment is a purely Jewish homeland, the eastern border of which is the Jordan River. (Some argue it is the Euphrates, but that's beside the point.) The Palestinians, equated with the biblical Amaleks whom the Israelite Joshua eradicated at one point in history, are the main obstacle to achieving that goal. Others might be the Neturei Karta and non-Zionist Israelis. Logic dictates that they must be eradicated, perhaps relocated to other Arab countries. This 'vision' did not fully materialise – although it came close – in 1948. Thus the third hypothesis is that the best thing the Israelis can do is impose arbitrary 'stiff measures' that should cause small but continuous exoduses which they depict as natural migrations among countries.

Naturally the harder the life is for the Arabs, the more migration there will be – and the closer the Israelis come to achieving their pure Jewish nationhood. This is the most basic tenet of Zionism, and never mind the apparent differences of opinion between the multi directed political wings of Zionism.

The chances of an all-out revolution by the Palestinians, an old age dream of their leadership abroad and intellectuals inside, are unwontedly slim. Unlike the black peoples in South Africa, people in the West Bank and Gaza are in no shape for one. They are in disarray and disunity, indulging in self-doubt and disillusionment over the inability of 21 Arab governments plus the PLO to find a solution to their dilemma. These stiff measures came at a time when the people are the most passive, when they marry and remarry, when they travel or receive visitors and when they hide in cafes and bedrooms to avoid the scorching heat. The schools and universities which are normally the centres of rebellion against oppression and military rule are off on holiday. The Israelis could not have picked a better time to clamp down. And it would be self-evident to point out that no Arab or 'friendly' country is able or willing to interfere on behalf of the Palestinians.

These three hypothesis only lead to one conclusion: those who so freely fill up the airwaves with peace, or for that matter war, talks should come forward now and give us a hand. These latest Israeli measures are pretty stiff and it is very possible that some might break under the pressure and 'go bananas.' ■

AL FAJR invites our readers to contribute letters, articles and opinions. Contributions must be signed, but names may be withheld upon request.

Midwifery services are crucial to the occupied territories and the refugee camps.

Health Care in the Occupied Territories

The War of Numbers

by Peter Parker

About springtime every year the WHO sends three wise men to the Holy Land. They travel a bit, talk, listen, and observe, and then submit a report on the health of and health care available to the Palestinian Arabs in the Gaza Strip and the occupied territories of the West Bank and the Syrians in the Golan Heights.

The Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) contributes its own version, Israel a very different one. The United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA) which looks after the interests of the Palestinian refugees, concludes with a report on what it does for those who either fled or were thrown out of Israel when that country was established in 1948, and who since then have not been allowed to return. There is then a debate at the World Health Assembly (WHA). Third World countries generally vote against Israel. Western ones line up with her and, as with other motions about Israel in the United Nations and its agencies, the Third World majority carries the day. This year's vote was no exception.

Any attempt to arraign an occupying power's health policies needs to address three questions. Is Israel's military rule of the occupied territories detrimental to the health of its inhabitants? Does it affect the health services available to the indigenous population? Is the development of local services suffering?

In 1982 infant mortality in Israel was 11.6 per 1000 for Jews and 21.0 for non-Jews (predominantly the Palestinians, now about 712,500, who remained in Israel after 1948 or were incorporated into it when East Jerusalem was annexed after the 1967 war). Statistics published by Israel's Ministry of Health give an infant mortality rate of 43.1 for Gaza and 25.6 for the West Bank for 1982. This would be equivalent to the situation in oil-rich Kuwait, where infant mortality in 1982 was 33, and far better than that achieved by Jordan (97 in 1979), Iraq (104 in 1979), or Egypt (108 in 1979). The question of which country should provide the measure against which to judge conditions in the occupied territories is clearly politically delicate, however accurate Israel's figures are.

Doubt must surround these if only because Israel's Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS) and its Ministry of Health have been unable to agree publicly. The statisticians published their doubts in 1977 and now estimate infant mortality in the occupied territories to have been 100 per 1000 in the mid 1970s and 70 in the early 1980s, whereas the Ministry of Health's figures for 1974 are 67.1 in Gaza and 30.7 in the West Bank. In its 1984 report, the Health Ministry asserts, "However, the death rates of infants, children and of all ages reported here are those based on reported deaths, which we consider to more closely represent the reality than the rates assumed by the CBS". According to the Health Ministry, deliveries in hospitals and maternity centres accounted for 74 percent of all deliveries in Gaza and 45.7 percent in the West Bank in 1982.

UNRWA provides free primary health care to a population which, living largely in camps or towns, is more easily targeted than villages. It therefore offers the best regular figures, and according to Dr Husseini, its medical director in Jerusalem, infant mortality has fallen from 83.7 in 1975 to 46.2 in 1979 and 39.7 in 1983. By comparison, detailed surveys in urban areas of Syria in 1976 and Iraq between 1973 and 1975 report infant mortality of 72.6 and 76.3 respectively.

Villages, however, seem to be worse. Dr Rita Giacaman, assistant professor of community health at Bir Zeit University, has studied Zbeidat, a poor, semi-nomadic, and isolated village in the Jordan Valley, where average temperatures are 10 degrees (Celsius) in winter and 39 degrees in summer. She interviewed 48 of the 63 married women there and found that they had had 329 pregnancies over the years. There were 36 miscarriages and stillbirths, 30 infants died in their first year, and another 6 died in the following four years. She says that unpublished studies of three better-situated villages indicate an improving infant mortality rate of around 90, a figure surprisingly close to that of the CBS and not far removed from a survey of 2500 births conducted by the West Bank Medical Association in 1975. Its rate was 80.3 and rising. Official figures of malnutrition and low birthweight are subject to similar qualifications. One can see why, when faced with such evidence, the expert committee, though acknowledging "that progress has been made in the recording of certain data at the health unit level", nonetheless concludes, "The statistical data are extremely contradictory, depending on the source".

The grounds for the annual condemnation of Israel are therefore bound to be for the way it controls the health services, if not for the fact that it does. Again there is numerical uncertainty with, for example, the Ministry of Health, the PLO, and the Central Bureau of Statistics, each reporting a different number of hospital beds (though the differences are less dramatic than those for infant mortality).

Perhaps wisely the expert committee refrains from arbitrating on such matters, though it does offer this general judgment on hospital services and the specialties such as dialysis and oncology which Israel has introduced: "Without risk of error, it may be stated that the number of hospital beds has shown no really significant change over the past 10 years. The development of hospital services implies something more than the mere allocation of a given number of beds to services newly established in the hospital. A hospital service, as a technical referral point, requires a team of specialists and adequate resources to be able to respond to the needs of the basic health services which it is supposed to meet. This is not the case in the territories. If progress has been made, it is merely in the provision of some technical equipment and not in the direction of a real medical and surgical team of a kind found in the smallest Israeli hospital."

Assessing the level of investment is difficult and not just because of the constant devaluation of the Israeli shekel and the high level of inflation. The Ministry of Health does not include in its lengthy reports either capital or current expenditure in government – let alone private-sector – hospitals, which leaves it open to potentially misleading statements from the PLO, such as that the health service budget has been reduced in dollar terms by an average of almost nine percent every year since 1978, or that Ekhilov Hospital in Tel Aviv has the same number of beds "as the whole of the West Bank" but has a budget seven-and-a-half times more.

The expert committee has instead painted a picture of a health service which in the 18 years it has been controlled by Israel has failed to keep up with the medical developments, and which, given the scanty degree of primary health care, is therefore increasingly dependent on Israel for secondary and tertiary care. Last year, for example, it described diagnostic equipment in Palestinian hospitals as "on the whole still antiquated" and said the health care system "is suffering at all levels on account of numerous restrictions which prevent the various units from rising above a modest level of quality. This forces the patients themselves to go to Israeli hospitals and in some cases to Jordanian hospitals."

Thus the committee reports, "The management of the health budget in the occupied territories is in the hands of the central authority, without any participation by those who are directly concerned by it. The committee was unable to determine the structure of the health budget in Gaza, since – contrary to what was done for the West Bank – it was not disclosed to them by the Israeli authorities."

Such tight control inevitably increases the responsibility to be borne by Israel for any shortcomings. In 1982 the committee reported that at Aluwatani Hospital in the West Bank city of Nablus "for some months the ambulance has been out of order; the outside telephone lines do not work; some individuals in Nablus have offered to have a lift installed for the patients, but the authorisation requested has not yet been given." Substantial funds could apparently be raised privately to improve the health infrastructure but, "the requests submitted to the Israelis [by 1982] had been unsuccessful." Aid from voluntary agencies and other countries is not encouraged, according to the committee, not least because of "the stipulation that 30 percent of the donation must be allocated to general development," which presumably would be disbursed by the occupying authorities.

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An UNRWA nurse inoculates a Palestinian child.

A Palestinian mother receives instructions from an UNRWA nurse at a clinic.

Ze'ev Schiff, the military correspondent of *HaAretz*, is one of the most respected commentators on military affairs in Israel. A man with pronounced pro-American leanings, Schiff represents a military "rationality" which is opposed to the superpower fantasies of Sharon, Eitan, et. al.

Within these limits, Schiff frequently has something interesting to say about the Israeli army and Israeli military strategy. In the first section of excerpts printed below, Schiff deals with the continuing Israeli military presence in south Lebanon; the second section of excerpts deals with the mood in the High Command of the army following the Lebanese War.

How does the Israeli army look today? – An army in crisis.

A Battered and Disillusioned Army Faces an Uncertain Future

The calm in the security belt along the northern border was supposedly disturbed this week [August 2-9] when two Israeli army soldiers were killed and two others wounded in a clash with a band of Amal combatants. The impression that emerges from the report of the incident is that up to now, the area was quiet, save for an occasional booby-trapped car. But the truth is that a guerrilla war is being fought in the security zone and that news about it rarely reaches the Israeli public. The Israeli army spokesperson has ceased to announce details about clashes in the security zone involving the SLA [South Lebanese Army] and generally tends to make do with reporting only those incidents that directly involve the Israeli army.

Choosing at random the week between July 26 and August 1, I found that in this one week Amal staged no less than 20 operations in the security belt, 16 of which were directed against the SLA and 4 against Israeli army outposts... This mini-war also took a toll in lives: two SLA soldiers were killed and 20 were either taken prisoner or deserted to the other side during an operation; four Amal men were killed; and two Israeli army soldiers were wounded.

Amal is also getting increasingly more daring in the security belt. In the week of July 26-August 1, its fighters captured three SLA outposts. On July 26, nine Shi'ite SLA soldiers "disappeared" from an outpost southwest of Nabatiya. Two days later, an SLA outpost at Rasha'it was captured. Two bodies of SLA soldiers were found at the site and seven other SLA soldiers "surrendered." On July 30, the Mis-Jabal outpost was captured. This is the third time Amal has captured this outpost. This time, four members of the Shi'ite militia were taken prisoner. A few days earlier, Amal took over an SLA lock-up in the village of Markaba. They seem to have coordinated their attack in advance with the Shi'ite guards: six of the guards joined the attackers who freed seven detainees from the jail...

Minister of Defence Yitzhak Rabin is convinced that the security belt is serving its purpose by warding off attacks on Israel's side of the border [and containing them in southern Lebanon]. At present, this is indeed the case; however, for the sake of accuracy, it should be pointed out that Amal is not trying to hit Israeli targets. Amal's policy is not to attack Israel proper, but rather, to concentrate its energies on targets in the security zone. Moreover, Amal is preventing other groups (ie. Palestinians or members of Hizballah) from getting established in the area in order to launch attacks against Israel. The notion that the Amal men killed by the Israeli army this week were on their way to attack Israeli targets is simply not true. All signs point their having been on their way to attack an SLA target when they ran into the Israeli army. (Translation: Ze'ev Schiff, *HaAretz*, August 7, 1985.)

The Erosion of a Myth

The Israeli army in the summer of 1985, having extricated itself from the swamp of Lebanon at a heavy toll in blood, is an army that is undergoing a transformation. It is an army that has undergone a crisis and has not yet returned to what it once was. It is an army in a transitional stage, seeking the proper direction and seeking to prepare itself for future battles, with the knowledge that given the present economic crisis gripping Israel it is doubtful that the state can put enough resources at its disposal.

How does the Israeli army look today? What are its predominant features in the wake of the Lebanese War? Although some of these features were apparent even before the Lebanese War, before 1982, the army's Lebanese experience seems to have exacerbated these tendencies...

Among the [officers of the] High Command, it is generally agreed that the Israeli army has undergone a crisis. There are those who refer to it as "no small crisis" and others who speak about "a certain jolt." All agree that it was a taxing experience... Many officers claim that the Israeli public no longer sees the army in the positive aura it once did. Things are changing. They point to a growing sector of the public which no longer considers army service to be a national mission... In other words, the army's image has been damaged. And this seems to me to be one of the most prominent features of the Israeli army in 1985. There are a lot of people in the army who are convinced that public opinion in regard to the army is not positive and in certain instances, even negative. This kind of view has a factual basis according to public opinion surveys carried out by the Behavioural Sciences Department of the Israeli army headed by Colonel Eli Fishoff. During a conversation I had with him and two other senior army psychologists in the department, Colonel Zvi Ginosar and Colonel Amos Specter, it came out that the decline of the positive image of the army is an ongoing process. It seems that the October 1973 war marked a a turning point in this regard. But the Lebanese War clearly accelerated and reinforced the army's negative image...

One should point out that this view – held by many officers in the standing army – does not necessarily correspond to the true situation... however, the general trend for the past few years has not been positive in regard to everything related to military service. "You sucker – what are you doing in the army?" many people ask those of their friends who have chosen a military career. Indeed, there are indications that the more educated people are, the more critical they are of the Israeli army... Criticising and "cutting up" the army is one of the mores of Friday night parties... The army's prestige was eroded by the Lebanese War, but it is only part and parcel of a broader social process that began to manifest itself even before the war began. Many army men are aware that the Israeli army is no longer considered a gateway to all avenues of future employment. Also, the myth that the Israeli army succeeds in everything it sets out to accomplish has worn thin.

No Clear Purpose

The army High Command emerged from the Lebanese War with an oppressive feeling, and at best with mixed feelings. These feelings and the questions they raise will probably be with us for a long time to come. The High Command knows that the army's victory in Lebanon, when translated into strategic terms, was not a real victory; hence, the need to fix the blame on someone else, in this case, on the political echelon. For the political echelon is seen as being responsible for getting the army bogged down in Lebanon and for its failure to score a real military victory there. This derives from the view that the political echelon gave the army an impossible mission from the very start. Not only did the government fail to define the objective of the war in a clear and precise manner, it also unnecessarily left the army in the swamp of Lebanon for three years.

As a result, the Israeli army High Command is now carrying a sizeable amount of doubt and cynicism in regard to the relations between the army and the political echelon. No one doubts the army's loyalty to the civilian echelon, but one feels that in future, the army will not automatically agree to every military move as it did in 1982...

Lebanon is just one more episode in a chain of events which has placed the army in a contradictory situation... If in the past commanders and soldiers shared a common value-system [with the rest of the public], today, one of the most prominent features of the army is a lack of direction and even a loss of direction.

This phenomenon is especially apparent in the military framework on account of the straightforward approach the army was accustomed to take in response to questions [of morality]. Lebanon illustrated that the polarisation which manifested itself in Israeli society also permeated the army.

The trouble begins with the growing extremism of Israeli youth. Everyone I talked to about the situation in the army accepted this fact. Israeli teenagers are looking for shortcut answers to the questions of the day – whether from the left or from the right, but for the great majority, from the right. The educational officers I spoke to explained that the extremism of Israeli youth does not manifest itself solely in regard to their political outlook regarding the Israeli-Arab conflict; it also manifests itself in a general lack of tolerance right across the board...

It can be felt already among young people about to be inducted who meet with army officers in their high schools. These officers say that the high school students of today are asking questions their predecessors wouldn't have dared to ask. (Translation: Ze'ev Schiff, *HaAretz*, August 2, 3, 8, 1985.)

Hospice Closure Leaves Arab Jerusalemites Stranded

by Khalil Touma

The Old City of Jerusalem is crowded as usual, but there is an atmosphere of lethargy. Merchants sit chatting with each other or gazing at the passers by. Peasant women sitting near the walls with grapes and sabra for sale periodically invite passersby to try their produce. For centuries, the lanes of the Old City have been trampled by the feet of pilgrims and tourists who come to touch and smell the history enshrined in its religious sites. Those who care to move their eyes from the ancient stones to the live faces of the local residents, however, can read something else more vivid and expressive: deep suffering from the "blessings" of the occupation.

Two weeks ago, this suffering was made more acute when the Israeli government closed Hospice, the sole Arab hospital in the Old City which has been serving 150,000 Arab residents and alleviating some of their troubles for the last 40 years. With the closure, the residents' patience ran out. Together with fellow Jerusalemites from outside the Old City walls, they went on strike, quit their work and hurried to their beloved hospital to try to block the closure by their physical presence.

Political Motives?

The authorities justified their closure of Hospice by arguing that the hospital was incapable of providing adequate treatment to patients and should be turned into a 24-hour referral clinic starting August 1. But so far no clinic has been opened and the old, green door of the hospital remains shut. Were these claims true? If not, who is to blame? Was the closure a wise and genuine solution, and what alternatives are available for the 150,000 people who benefited from the Hospice all these long years?

For the Arabs, the motives of the closure are clear: They are definitely of a political nature, as the Hospice Friends Committee declared in many press conferences. The closure, residents and Arab health personnel say, is aimed at making life unbearable for Arabs. The absolute refusal of the Israeli government to accept any of the proposals submitted on an alternative future for the Hospice they argue, is the test proof. The Committee repeatedly made clear that it is willing and able to raise funds to bring the hospital facilities up to Israeli standards, but all were turned down. If the Israelis don't want to finance the hospital or to let it be financed by non governmental parties, what other explanation could there be except a political one? they ask.

"It is clear," Dr Ahmad Muhtadi, head of the Hospice, told *Al Fajr* "Closing the hospital and not opening the loudly proclaimed clinic do in fact throw doubt on the authorities' excuses for the closure. And this measure will not solve the financial crisis of the Health Ministry, which spent only US600-700,000 dollars annually on Hospice. This amount can easily be supplied by local or foreign institutions."

Dr al-Amad, a heart specialist, agrees that the Hospice equipment is not up to the standard of that in Israeli hospitals, but indicates that 90 percent of the cases treated at the Hospice did not need such sophisticated facilities. "While the Israeli hospitals depend on fancy equipment, we depended on the bed treatment, and despite the lack of such instruments the results were excellent and people were satisfied.

The two general strikes in East Jerusalem in support of the hospital attest to al-Amad's assertion: the people were satisfied with Hospice. More than that, they loved the old hospital. Their attachment, together with their anger at the high-handed Israeli measures has stirred up a feverish reaction, and the closure has become the main issue of the day.

Talk of the Town

Whenever one talks to Old City residents these days, the Hospice case invariably comes up. "We felt a bit secure because the hospital was always near if anything happened, especially late at night. How will we carry a patient from inside the Old City to a hospital outside the walls? And how can we afford the high rates charged at these hospitals?" says Mohammed, a man in his 40s sitting at the entrance of a coffee shop near the hospital. The other night my wife's leg was severely burned by boiling water. But we had to wait until the morning for treatment because the Hospice is closed."

Shortly after Mohammed spoke, a group of Israeli civilians accompanied by three policemen drew up in a car. They got out, walked to the open window of the hospital, and shouted for admittance. An old nun came to the window but refused to open the door. One of them tried to force the door open with a crowbar, but then the group decided to try the back door. A woman standing by a grocery shop turned to the owner and said, "You see, it is all the doing of the nuns." Many youths gathered around the Israelis and passersby stopped to watch, readying themselves for action. One put his hands on his waist and poured forth a string of curses. Then the back door opened, the police shouted at the bystanders, and the Israelis went inside, allegedly to dismantle the operation room. Would the Austrian Church really enjoy using the Hospice building in the future if things end this way?

"The poor class of Jerusalem and the surrounding villages are the worst hit by the closure," says a man sitting on the threshold of the hospital at 9:00 am. He has been a nurse at Hospice for 15 years. "Those who had money preferred to go to other hospitals anyway. But the poor people didn't. Where will they go?" he asked rhetorically. Nor does he know what is to become of him and his colleagues. Nearly 70 employees are facing an indefinite future. The Israeli Health Ministry told only 12 Hospice staff members that they would be absorbed in Israeli hospitals.

Because Hospice clientele were poor and had no health insurance the administration frequently charged them only the minimum rate of US2-3 dollars per night, including treatment and medicine. This got the administration in trouble from the Israeli Health Ministry which insisted that the minimum rate should not be offered to anyone without the recommendation of a special committee. "Between 70-80 patients slept daily in the hospital. Every day we treated 15 20 new cases," Muhtadi told *Al Fajr*. "Where will those people go now? Only two cases were transferred to Israeli hospitals by the social worker the week before the closure," he said.

If these statistics were not convincing enough, the number of newborns delivered at Hospice during the last year (2034) should have persuaded any authority that Hospice met residents' needs.

Now that the poor class of Jerusalem has lost the cheap and accessible treatment that Hospice provided, it is left with harsh alternatives: one is to use hospitals like the Islamic al-Maqassed on the Mount of Olives or the French St. Joseph's in Sheikh Jarrah. The other alternative is to use Israeli hospitals. They are all expensive choices. Maqassed, a modern, well-equipped Arab hospital established by donations from Arab states, has always helped the needy within its limited capacity. But Maqassed's 120 beds are already filled. A Maqassed official told *Al Fajr* that the hospital has a 90 percent occupancy rate. "We have already begun to feel the pressure from the Hospice closure," he said, indicating that the hospital's capacity may soon be seriously strained by the new load of patients. Treatment at Maqassed is far steeper than at Hospice. A deposit of JD70 (US200 dollars) must be made in advance upon admission. The cost of one night's stay in the third class section is JD4 (US10 dollars) excluding costs of medicine and treatment. Delivery in the third class costs JD90 (US250 dollars). Treatment at the French Hospital is even more expensive. The cost of one night's stay is about JD9 (US15 dollars), and one-third of the total cost of the treatment must be paid in advance upon admission. The French Hospital has only 72 beds.

On the other hand, Israeli hospitals are too much of a luxury for the poor Arab class of Jerusalem. One night's stay costs IS128,000 (about US100 dollars), and a minimum payment of one night's cost must be made upon admission.

These costs are no problem for residents with the Israeli Kupat Holim insurance, but the bulk of Old City residents have no such coverage because they can't afford the monthly payments. The 30 percent who do can receive medical treatment at Kupat Holim clinics and be redirected if necessary to Israeli hospitals. There are four such clinics in East Jerusalem.

Kupat Holim Blues

Arabs who do hold insurance and use the Kupat Holim clinics often run up against other obstacles, however. For one, they have not been exempt from government slashes and are themselves severely understaffed. The pressure on these clinics is enormous. For proof, one only needs to spend 10 minutes at the Damascus Gate clinic where over 200 patients are treated daily and scores of others are turned down and have to return to try their luck the next day. Children, elderly, housewives, and workers pile up outside the doors, desperately waiting for their turn. The unmerciful hot weather shortens already short tempers, and rows often break out here and there.

Rashida, a mother of seven in her 30s who is at the clinic with two daughters, told *Al Fajr* that everyone wants to finish before 1:00 pm when the clinic hours are over. Remaining patients have to start the whole story once again the next day. It was 11:00 am and Rashida had been waiting since 8:00 am. A youth in his 20s, drawing hard on his cigarettes, said that he would lose a day's pay if he didn't get to see the doctor. He works at an Israeli hotel, and a day's absence without a sick report means a day without wages.

Another youth interjected, saying that the laboratory tests are a problem at the Kupat Holim clinic. It often takes more than a week for the results to arrive, which is a waste of time and energy, he said. Medicine is not always available, and patients are not refunded if they buy from private pharmacies without prior clinic approval, he said. Yet such permission usually takes a few days to obtain, not to mention the time and energy involved. Samih, a municipal employee who had a stomach operation at Hadassah Hospital and was satisfied with the treatment, indicated that many of his prescriptions have not yet been filled because the medicine is not available in the clinic.

Patients who need specialised doctors have to go through even more trouble. They are redirected to the clinic on Strauss Street in West Jerusalem.

Many Arab residents who had Kupat Holim insurance preferred to use it at Hospice rather than going to Israeli hospitals for several psychological reasons that stem mainly from the prevailing anti-Arab atmosphere. Arabs feel more secure and comfortable in an Arab hospital, where there is no problem communicating or fear of mistreatment. Arab patients in Israeli hospitals do not have close relations with doctors, staff and other patients, leading sometimes to a sense of alienation and helplessness. The complicated procedures of admission and release at Israeli hospitals, which did not exist at Hospice, can be confusing, particularly for those who don't know Hebrew. Nudra Hejazi, a woman in her 50s with diabetes, was one of the few patients at the Hospice to be tranferred to Hadassah Hospital on Mount Scopus, because she has insurance coverage. She told *Al Fajr* that the treatment at Hospice was not any less satisfactory than at Hadassah. "Treatment, care, and medicine at the Hospice were OK," she said. Dr Najah al-Husseini, an Arab who works at Hadassah, denies that there is any discrimination against Arabs, but agrees that Arab patients often feel scared and lost.

There are some instances of questionable treatment, however. Two recent cases at Hadassah are examples. Margo Tarazi, an 88-year-old Arab woman, broke her hip and was taken to the French hospital in East Jerusalem. Doctors decided that she should be transferred to Hadassah for surgery. The family was told that the operation would be done the same day. The old woman was transferred at 4:30 pm to Hadassah on Mount Scopus. But the operation did not take place until 11:15 pm. Her son Na'im, a well-known travel agent, was required to pay in advance for a 14-day stay, a total amount of IS2.5 million. But the hospital would not accept his personal cheque, insisting on cash. It took a long and arduous discussion to convince them that it was impossible to bring the amount in cash at that hour; banks and moneychangers were closed and no one in his right mind would carry such an amount in his pocket. The next morning he paid it in full. An Israeli journalist who was interested in the matter wrote a letter of inquiry to the hospital administration but never received an answer.

Nightmare

George Kuttab, 63, a Jerusalemite and teacher who has Kupat Holim insurance, told *Al Fajr* that he experienced a series of harassments, especially from a nurse named Rachel, when he had a hernia operation at Hadassah June 11. "After the operation," Kuttab said, "the treatment was very bad. I was moved four times from one bed to another. The reason they always gave was that there were patients more needy than me. Once," Kuttab continued, "I was cold so I covered my legs with a blanket. When Rachel saw me she swooped down, took off the blanket, and said, 'Why did you cover yourself? Is it to raise your temperature in order to stay longer in the hospital?' I always felt that she wanted to get rid of me." Kuttab, however, believes that because of the low temperature in the air-conditioned operating room, he got pneumonia.

Once, Kuttab recalls, he begged a doctor who wanted to insert the tube of a respiratory machine into his nose to wait a while since he had just finished lunch. But the doctor, who apparently had no other time, refused. Kuttab subsequently vomited and felt very lousy. "Another time, treatment with this machine was going on smoothly," he said, "until Rachel came and moved the specialist aside and started to thrust the tube farther up in my nose. I bled and passed out for a few minutes." The memory, he says, is all too fresh.

"On another occasion a specialist came to massage my chest and back. He decided the bed was not suitable, so he asked me to move to the dining room until they fixed it. I stayed there for two-and-a-half hours. I felt tired and went back to my bed but found it without a mattress or cover and no one was there. I sat on a chair and waited for half-an-hour. When a doctor came to examine another patient, I asked him to tell the nurse on duty that I needed to rest. Rachel then came and said angrily, 'What do you think yourself? Are you a king or a prince that you want to be treated this way?' I answered 'Yes, I am a king and I want a bed to rest on!' But she left me and went away. When another doctor came I told him that I wanted a bed. After another half-hour, Rachel finally came with another nurse and gave me a bed." Kuttab added that he had to wait from 10:00 am until 2:00 pm for his exit papers to be processed, although the doctor had notified the nurse in the morning that he was to go home that day.

Much has been written about the post-1967 deterioration of Arab health facilities. The situation of government hospitals in the West Bank is yet another sad tale. But these need a separate story.

The Israelis are not particularly sensitive to these problems, as the decision to close Hospice and the circumstances surrounding the closure illustrate. Closing the Hospice is like amputating a hand to treat a minor wound. The poor Arab population in the Old City, already suffering from rising unemployment, low wages, and economic cutbacks everywhere, has the right to dream of an independent Arab health insurance policy and a central hospital of their own. Can this dream come true? ■

The Kupat Holim (Israeli national health insurance) clinic near Damascus Gate is one alternative. But monthly Israeli insurance fees are high, and the clinic is always mobbed by anxious patients.

Evacuation by force: On July 29, two days before the official closure date, Israeli police and borderguards evacuated patients from Hospice Hospital in Jerusalem's Old City. Old City residents now face tough alternatives for health care.

The entrance to the Arab Maqassed Hospital in Jerusalem. Maqassed charges higher rates than Hospice, and many poor Old City residents cannot afford treatment here.

A spontaneous demonstration of revolt.

Israeli Policy in the Occupied Territories Generates Terrorism

by Pinchas Inbari

At present, the Palestinian armed struggle against Israel is taking on a surprisingly new form: attacks against Israeli targets are no longer necessarily directed by the PLO or any branch thereof. What is happening at present is that young men have begun to take private initiatives by arming themselves and staging unplanned attacks which for the most part take the form of murdering Israelis – both civilians and soldiers.

Actually, these unplanned attacks are not a new phenomenon; what is new is that unlike the skirmishes of the past, they are terrorists acts, no matter how amateurish they may seem. These attacks are worrisome for a number of reasons. To begin with, they may prove to be disastrous in regard to Jewish-Arab relations, a deterioration of which could transform Israel into a new northern Ireland.

There is reason to see this latest development as one of the ramifications of the escalation of the Israeli struggle against the Palestinians begun during the days of the Likud governments. At the time, the country began to turn its attention to the annexation of the occupied territories by way of an aggressive settlement policy which consciously sought to transform the Arabs into second-class citizens, and whereby most of the resources were channelled to the settlers. Both the massive land expropriations and the silence of the authorities in the face of settler provocations against their Arab neighbours fall under this category. Indeed, there seems to have been an effort to encourage the local residents to emigrate. But the main drive of the Likud government's policies found expression in the Lebanese War, which was actually a war against the Palestinian people.

The Palestinians' initial feelings of frustration and despair at the sight of the destruction wreaked by Israel on the refugee camps gave way to different feelings when the Shi'ites succeeded in hitting the Israeli army. They then felt encouraged to imitate the Shi'ites.

The recent appearance of unorganised Palestinian terrorism can thus be seen to be an unavoidable result of the Likud government's policies both in the occupied territories and in Lebanon, policies which shifted the focus of the conflict from the Arab and Palestinian forces on the other side of the border to the Palestinians living in Israel and the occupied territories.

The policies of the military government in the occupied territories are part and parcel of the general government policy. First of all, the comprehensive defence programme it adopted was totally out of proportion to what was happening on the ground. The security situation in the occupied territories was never all that bad. And yet, it didn't meet the standards set by the settlers. But the army should have never adopted such standards, which in the final analysis are *religious* and not military. For the settlers consider stone-throwing or even a curse against the Jews to be tantamount to blasphemy and sacrilege – actions which under no circumstances can be passed over in silence. Of course, this may not have very much to do with security considerations, as defence figures say, but it has a lot to do with the manner in which the settlers see themselves as the protectors of the honour of "the Kingdom of Israel."

Moreover, the settlers are not interested in the West Bank being a peaceful region, for in such a situation their demographic inferiority would be clear for all to see. They thus need a constant series of violent incidents in order to worsen the lives of the Arabs and thereby retain the hope that a Jewish majority in the occupied territories can one day be achieved. Unfortunately, the army commanders did not understand what Gush Emunim was aiming at. Nor did they bother to question the absurd claim that the stone-throwers were endangering the security of the area. Hence, the war against the stone-throwers. Now, given the aggressive policy pursued by the security forces in the occupied territories, it is actually quite surprising that the reaction of the residents of the West Bank did not go beyond stone-throwing, which all in all held few dangers.

But when the authorities began meting out heavy fines and long terms of imprisonment for stone-throwing, it began to be "worthwhile" to take even bigger chances since the stakes were already so high. The results are clear. The policy against stone-throwing reaped a short-term reprieve. Today, such incidents are rarely reported. But in the meantime, the West Bank has moved into a new stage. Stone-throwing is now seen as kids' stuff.

The first warning about what could be expected was in Hebron. Hebron was actually the first city on the West Bank to cut out all stone-throwing and the first city which reacted to the settlers' acts by attacks. The story is well-known.

We are now witnessing the result of a government policy which aspires to unattainable national objectives and which relies on the ideological-religious reasoning of Gush Emunim. This has been combined with a shortsighted defence policy directed by the government.

Since 1977, we have witnessed far-reaching changes in Israeli policies in the occupied territories. After the 1967 war, Moshe Dayan [the Israeli defence minister, 1967-74] followed a policy which expressed itself in the thinking of General David Prahi, his adviser at the time, whereby the Palestinians living under Israeli occupation were given an outlet in order to prevent Israel from becoming a second Ireland. Such outlets included freedom of expression in the press – as much as possible – free municipal elections, and the political hope that the residents could one day attain independence and sovereignty, as the authorities saw the territories simply as territories to be bartered for peace.

Dayan was proud that Israeli soldiers were not to be seen in Arab cities and said that the government of Israel had to treat the Arab residents of the occupied territories as though they were Israeli citizens – until a solution could be found. This policy threw a damp cloth on the sting of the Palestinians' national struggle. But the Likud, far from seeing the residents of the occupied territories as citizens, saw them as an obstacle. So it is that today, army patrols can be seen in the Arab cities all the time. And the Israeli flag is everywhere. Moreover, today, political expression is considered a security offence. Bit by bit, the national aspirations of the Palestinians were so hemmed in that they couldn't but seek a violent release.

The harm caused by the policies of the Likud government will be hard to rectify, but it is not too late. It is still possible to hold municipal elections in order to rehabilitate political processes, and thereby foster a new atmosphere which can open the political bottleneck which now exists. (Translation: Al Hamishmar, July 28, 1985). ■

Palestinians express their "initial feelings of frustration and despair at the sight of the destruction wreaked by Israel."

Mahira Jaber, 23, is a Palestinian poetess from Jerusalem who writes poetry in English. She has a BA in English Literature from Bethlehem University. **Billy H. Grant Jr** lives in the United States. Both submitted the following poems to *Al Fajr*.

Poetic Drumming...

Drums In Our Country

drums, drums, drums
troops on the borders,
and soldiers are receiving the damaging orders...
fear, panic and anxiety are spread out
the smell of death creeps within souls,
and not out...
children are crying with a melancholy voice
hide the cake,
and hide the lovely toys...
drums, drums, drums
the voice of dim and dum,
echoed in the slum
others are running, and crying: fire fire
but, who can listen,
the father is already killed,
and so is the mother...
drums, drums, drums
the soldiers in the heart of the country
it is hard to keep souls,
there is no outlet
and to life there is no entry...
then, joy was spread out
and wine was poured out for the sake of fun,
when oppression ruled the world, and everything was done....

Mahira S. Jaber

War And Wine

the cries of innocents have no echo,
when the international councils give the sign of veto ..
prayers of the believers are not yet heard
nobody listened,
nobody helped,
oh... who dared...
queens with their kings enjoy, laughter and wine
and give orders to damage and destroy,
just in one sign...
yet, if this is the will of God,
we are so much pleased,
but, if it is the will of man,
how much we are diseased

Mahira S. Jaber

Mahdi,
Rightly Guided One
Why is it that
I sit in a mosque
in black dress socks
when children are standing
in bare feet
in the courtyard squares of Sabra?
Why is it that I
bow low to the floor
at the Imam's call
while others
are bowed down low
to their graves
after the angry howl
of a Katyusha?
Why is it
that I kneel on this prayer rug
when others use it
to wrap the stiff cold bodies
of the dead?
Why is it that
I fast
as others eat cats and dogs?
Why do I chant
Suras from the Book
while others
light fires with it
to see through the darkness
of their night?
Why do I cleanse myself
with tap water
from American bathrooms
as others make ablution
in the warm blood
of human sacrifices?

Mahdi,
Rightly Guided One,
the Imam tells me
that I must be willing
to die for Allah
but

one side of my heart
is firing bullets into
the other side of my heart
and I am confused...
...I must leave...
...please intercede...
...with Allah for me...
...Mahdi...
...Rightly Guided One...
...I cannot observe this year..
...I do not understand Ramadan massacres ..

Billy Grant

Mahsoud,
Listen to the anxious pounding
on the floor
by the Yahuud
over my head
now that I have unwittingly
defiled their Passover
with
the
black green and red
quarternotes and semitones
of my Arabic music.
They are invading
the airspace of my sanity!
Is it their nature
to be at odds
with their neighbours
wherever they settle?
Or perhaps they do imagine
that if they
bang
drop
and pound
for seven days
that on the eighth day
the walls of my tolerance
will come crashing down
and I will be forced to
emigrate to another apartment?
I have gone to the landlord
in the hope of mediation
but she refuses to recognise
my right to her intercession
and says that it is
I who must negotiate
a peace treaty.
I think instead
I will return
eye for eye
tooth for tooth
and throw stones at the ceiling.

Mahsoud,
If this is what apartment life
is to be for me in the USA
then let me keep my electric keyboard
ever ready
and pray for a Passover
of 365 days!

Billy Grant

Love And War

there is time for war
and for love too
winds blow like a wild boar
and the sun hides behind the blue
yet, all of us below the sun
seek time for jest and fun
we seek borders, we seek shelter
we seek hearts to be tender
if there is no place to join us
love, certainly, would be furious
thus, let the lovely girls remain nuns
let me bring love with the voice of guns
then, there will be time for love and lovers
when the flag of freedom high above hovers.

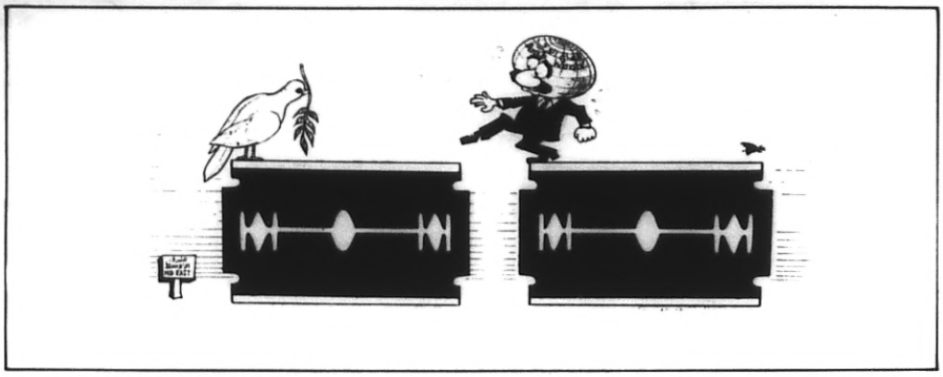
Mahira S Jaber

Jerusalem

I yearn for streets of Jerusalem
where I used to walk,
to see friends and talk...
the place of my birth,
the loveliest spot on earth...
memories are scattered here and there
dancing like genies so charming and fair...
the land is green,
women are fine,
and men are keen...
then, why don't we sing,
we got everything
we got the land, and God's grace
fountains of love, you can never find in any other place...
yes, the air of Jerusalem is special,
the lovely scents of perfume never change it artificial...
however, Jerusalem welcomes all
who grant peace and love, out from heart and soul...

Mahira S Jaber

WINDOW ON THE ARAB PRESS



Palestinian newspapers published in the occupied territories continued this week to focus on the new harsh Israeli policies against Palestinians. The attempts to deport Khalil Abu Zayyad and a score of recently released prisoners were among the main topics of that coverage.

The discovery of fraudulent land dealers and hints that high-ranking Israeli officials are also implicated received front-page coverage.

The Arab summit in Casablanca was comprehensively covered in stories, photos and editorials. The text of the summit statement was published in full in most of the daily newspapers.

Casablanca Resolutions

The Arab summit, as expected, achieved nothing. The only significance, as we said before, of convening the summit is that it may restore minimum Arab adherence to the Fez resolutions.

We may find reasons why Algeria, Libya, Lebanon and the Yemen boycotted this summit. But Syria's boycott stems from its desire to hinder Arab consensus. And during the past few months, the Syrian regime cleverly exploited the developments in the area to enhance its influence and position.

Assad thought for a while that he had become the strong man who should have a say in everything. But the Arab summit proved him to be wrong. The Arab summit expressed its full support of the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. It also emphasised its respect for the independence of Palestinian decision-making. These resolutions are in favour of our people.

AL SHA'AB
August 10

The Summit that Challenged the Arab Deadlock

Though the Arab summit did not take the desired decisive decisions, its mere convening is a source of optimism. We are not saying this out of false illusions. The summit has resulted in positive things that should be taken into consideration. The first of these positive things is the fact that it was convened. The other positive aspect is that the final statement issued by the summit was written very astutely. It simply referred to the Amman agreement without giving a clear-cut opinion on it. This in turn leaves the door open for the next Arab summit to decide on it. We hope that the next summit, to be convened in Riyadh, will be attended by all Arab countries. Until it is convened we hope that the committees formed by this summit will have managed to reconcile Arab differences.

AL FAJR
August 10

A Step Toward Solidarity

After three years of tremendous efforts, an Arab summit was convened. The reader of the communique realises that the Arab leaders were not up to the occasion. They simply reiterated their regret over the Iran-Iraq war, and reiterated their call for Arab solidarity and the purifying of the Arab atmosphere. The communique made no mention of the massacres against the Palestinians in Lebanon, either because it did not want to arouse the anger of Syria or for fear that the Lebanese government would accuse them of interfering in its internal affairs. The real indifference was quite obvious in the call for the PLO to start dialogue with the Lebanese government, in order to honour the agreements between the two sides. Which government do the Arab leaders mean? Are they so indifferent that they do not know what is going on in Lebanon?"

The most prominent positive aspect of the outcome of the summit is the fact that the Arab leaders blessed the Amman agreement, and expressed support of the Jordanian-Palestinian move. The summit kept the door open to Arab states that boycotted this summit. It gave a chance to restore Arab solidarity before the expected Arab summit is convened in Riyadh next November.

AL QUDS
August 10

Clearing the Atmosphere

The last Arab summit reaffirmed that the PLO is the only legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. This means that the Arabs still respect the will of the Palestinian people from whom the PLO emerged and developed. The PLO placed the interests of the Palestinian people above all else. It is natural that the PLO will find itself confronting one Arab state or others. Therefore it is not strange for the Arab leaders to call for patching up the differences between the PLO and some Arab countries, ie, Libya. The leaders made no mention of reconciliation between the PLO and Syria because the latter has crossed the red line regarding the aspirations of the Pal stinian people.

AL QUDS
August 12

Whitehead's Tour

Whitehead's tour in the area aims, among other things, at giving a push to the Arab summit resolutions. But the summit will not achieve its objectives as long as progressive and nationalist Arab forces reject the surrender option. The implied support given by the summit to the Amman agreement means that they cannot bypass the nationalist stand despite the American guarantees. The nationalist forces will find a way to abort the surrender effort. Now these forces are required to go on the offensive.

AL MITHAQ
August 12

The Dialogue Leading to the International Conference

The idea of an international conference is still there. It is a mistake to say that the recent Arab summit has bypassed it. The PLO made it a point to include a reference to the continuing effort toward such a conference. The dialogue between a joint delegation and an American one does not mean that the idea of an international peace conference has been abandoned. It is quite the opposite. This dialogue will enhance the idea of the international conference, because it will secure, first of all, US recognition of the PLO. We insist on this dialogue with the US so as to corner the US administration on the world stage. And, as Abu Iyad said, the PLO will cease its military operations when Israel accepts the idea of an international conference. This is why the dialogue with the US is very important.

AL FAJR
August 13

The Illegal Land Deals

Fraudulent land deals involving senior officials in the Ministry of Housing and some senior officials in the occupied territories, have been revealed recently. The investigations carry very serious dimensions. A few weeks ago, it was announced that the ownership of 52 percent of the West Bank land has been transferred from Arabs to Israeli companies and persons, or that this land has become security zones for military purposes. Consequently, this land has either been settled or used as military camps. These recent revelations indicate that international law is not being honoured in the occupied territories. The seizure of land on any pretext is an obstacle to peace. The settlements are real hindrances to the peace process. Most of the landowners have title deeds to their land which has been illegally taken away from them.

AL QUDS
August 13

The Land Theft Gang

All of a sudden the Israelis realised that the Arab citizens in the occupied territories are right when they say their land is being taken away from them. High ranking Israeli figures are involved. And the Israeli authorities are admitting now that there are complaints about land forgeries. This admission comes years after Israeli propaganda that the Arabs have sold their land. The Israeli authorities may gloss over the matter, especially when Israeli newspapers claim that files were stolen but we demand that the gang be revealed.

AL SHA'AB
August 14

Time is Golden

In the light of the past present and future concessions of the Palestinian Right in the course of its running after American solutions and in light of the consequences of such an approach, it has become clear that the reply to this series of concessions should be firm and decisive. The Palestinian and Arab masses are disgusted with the mere issuing of statements simply condemning the practices of the Palestinian Right, and the Arab reactionaries. At this stage the Nationalist forces confronting the surrenderist steps are required to take advanced steps to abort these efforts. We should move from the phase of reaction to the phase of effective action. Time is golden and should be well exploited.

AL MITHAQ
August 14

Siniora to Press:

Accord Last PLO Peace Offer

The aim of current Palestinian political moves is to establish a Palestinian state in the context of a confederation with Jordan, said *Al Fajr's* Responsible Editor Hanna Siniora. Siniora, a member of the recently formed joint Palestinian-Jordanian delegation, was speaking at a journalistic symposium in Jerusalem August 12. The symposium was organised by the Foreign Press Assocation in Israel.

Siniora told dozens of journalists attending the symposium that the mechanism for current moves is the Palestinian-Jordanian accord. He said that this accord represented the last opportunity offered by the PLO for a just and comprehensive peace.

Siniora answered questions on the current situation, on opportunities for peace, on the PLO's representation of the Palestinian people, and on the role of Palestinians in the occupied territories. Siniora, who is due to meet US Envoy Richard Murphy in Jordan this week, said, "We want to achieve worldwide recognition of our existence. We are a people with an entity and a leadership with support and backing."

In opening remarks, Siniora said that he was not an official representative of the PLO because the PLO is an illegal organisation in the occupied territories." He said that people were currently facing deportation proceedings for even the suspicion of belonging to the PLO.

Siniora stated that "the ball is now in the American court. The PLO has determined the political plan which will lead to a settling of the conflict through an international conference." He explained that the joint delegation's first step is "to normalise our relations with the United States." He stressed that American recognition of the Palestinian people's right to self-determination will pave the road for convening the international conference with all parties to the conflict.

As to the future if Israel continues to reject any political moves in the area, Siniora said the Israeli position was rejectionist. "If the political moves reach a deadlock," he said, "I will not exaggerate if I say that incidents of violence will increase and the extremists on both sides will be pleased."

Siniora did not rule out the possibility that PLO representatives will sit at the negotiating table with Israel. However, he said that Israel must first accept the establishment of a Palestinian state. In explaining the PLO condition that the US recognise the Palestinian right to self-determination, he said that PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat was expressing his lack of confidence in the US and Israel by first setting a precondition.

On the role of West Bank and Gaza Palestinians in the negotiations Siniora said that residents of the occupied territories constitute only one-third of the Palestinian people, and that they express their political views only through the PLO.

Siniora emphasised, "We are not against direct negotiations. But we do not agree that these negotiations be held with residents of the occupied territories." He added, "The negotiations must be held with the PLO in the presence of all parties to the conflict."

Siniora said that the Palestinians have always worked to bridge an understanding between themselves and the Israeli peace camp. "We are now on a crossroads — one leading to peace and the other leading to war and no peace," he said. Siniora criticised Kahanism, the Likud party and Israeli fascism.

Siniora said that Yasir Arafat had spoken of establishing an independent Palestinian state since 1974 on any liberated land of Palestine. Since then, he said, Arafat had made many initiatives to maintain the peace process in Palestine. However, Ariel Sharon, the former Israeli defence minister, had tried to abort the peace process in 1982 by his invasion of Lebanon, said Siniora.

Asked about the double-talk the PLO uses when it speaks of peace and, at the same time, the armed struggle, Siniora said, "I do not set the policy for the PLO which adapts itself to whatever is most convenient and effective to serve the Palestinian people. Personally, I would advocate the position of both sides stopping the violence when the peace process is fully underway."

Concerning the Palestinian factions opposed to the current moves, Siniora asserted that the current PLO stand reflects the opinion of the majority of Palestinians. The minority, however, are encouraged to democratically express their stand. Concerning the prospects of a lasting peace, he said, "No clashes and no war will occur after the establishment of a Palestinian state because there will be international guarantees."

Reacting to Siniora's statements, Peter Allen Frost, chairman of the Foreign Press Association, said, "Siniora is frank and honest in his beliefs about the peace process. However, he reflects his constraints when he says he is unable to openly say, 'I am the PLO representative.'" The Foreign Press Association has invited other Palestinian and Israeli personalities to express their opinions in open-dialogue symposiums.

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15 Killed, 120 Injured

Car Bomb Shatters East Beirut Building

The most severe car bomb in three months shattered the industrial area of East Beirut August 14, killing 15 and injuring 120. A building was destroyed and four other buildings damaged. The car was loaded with an explosives charge estimated at 200 kilogrammes.

The latest car bomb came in the middle of a wave of violence in Beirut. Violent clashes between the warring militias took place on both sides of the Lebanese capital last week. According to police sources dozens of people were killed and injured during fighting across the 'Green Line' separating East and West Beirut. Thousands of shells fell on both sides. Heavy weapons and tanks were also used. Two American University students were killed and four others injured when the campus was shelled.

In the south, however, a resistance group attacked with automatic weapons and rockets a base of the South Lebanese Army (SLA) near Haspaia in the Israeli-marked 'security zone,' August 10. The same day an Israeli base on Mount Hermon was rocketed.

Israel freed 100 detainees from the Atlit prison near Haifa. Nineteen of the freed prisoners were Palestinians and the rest Shi'ites from the Amal movement.

Deportation

Continued from 1

membership in the PLO — specifically Fatah — and carrying out "subversive activities against the state." Instead of trying him in a military court, Israeli military authorities decided to deport him in line with their "iron fist policy." Abu Zayyad was given 48 hours in which to appeal his deportation.

Abu Zayyad, appealed to the military review board, which acts as an appeals court but whose decisions are not binding. The board convened August 11 and found that the military could not substantiate its evidence against Abu Zayyad, thus recommending that he not be deported.

Commander Amnon Shahak, who originally ordered the deportation, rejected the board's findings declaring his determination to deport Abu Zayyad. The ex-prisoner's advocate Zichroni took the case to the High Court which held a hearing August 11 and ordered the Israeli Defence Ministry to show cause within three days why "it could not refrain from deporting Abu Zayyad." The court also issued an interim injunction barring the military from deporting him.

An associate of Zichroni, Jim Allenson, told *Al Fajr* that the subsequent court decision to look into findings of the review board was most surprising because "both bodies seem to be in total agreement all the time." He suspected that the Israeli government had pressured the court into its decision. Allenson pointed out that it was not in the government's best interest that the High Court overruled the military decision which "was obviously based on a higher political move."

Zichroni had earlier told *Al Fajr* that evidence pointed to the whole affair being political rather than personal against Abu Zayyad. "The military wanted to tell the Palestinians that not one of you is safe from our policies." Zichroni said that if Abu Zayyad was guilty, "they would have tried him in a court rather than deport him."

Abu Zayyad, who was jailed for 10 years in 1970, heads the Committee for the Defence of Prisoners which coordinates aid to prisoners and arranges family visits to the prisons. The military has attempted to justify his deportation by claiming that he was the leader of a group of "imprisoned terrorists" whose tasks was to "maintain ties with all the terrorist prisoners in all the bases in Judea-Samaria."

In 1982, Abu Zayyad was placed under town-arrest in Azzariyeh and prohibited from working in his shop in East Jerusalem.

Health Care

Continued from page 6

Health care can be a profitable export. In 1983 the cost of a hospital bed in the occupied territories was about 110 dollars (US) a night, "roughly equivalent to that in the Israeli hospitals." The PLO claims that the combination of hospital care in Israeli hospitals, Israeli drugs, and diagnostic tests accounts for 30 percent of the occupied territories' health budget. Israel does not offer an alternative figure but says that 14,182 Palestinians from the West Bank have been inpatients in Israeli hospitals since 1967 and that there is ready access to the hospitals for those who belong to the health insurance scheme — about 80 percent of the population of Gaza (where premiums were 8 dollars US per month in 1983) and 40 percent of the West Bank (where premiums were between 9.1 and 11.3 dollars US in 1982). Health care is free for children under four, the mentally ill, those with cancer and infectious diseases, women in childbirth, and the poor — a group narrowly defined to exclude apparently "anyone who has a dwelling, whatever its condition."

The committee says that the monthly insurance premium is beyond the means of some families. That access to good quality medical care may be more difficult for Arabs than for Jews is suggested by this observation on kidney transplant patients from Dr Michael Friedlander and his associates at the Hadassah University Hospital, Jerusalem: "In general, the Jews received more dialysis hours per week than did the Arabs, who clinically tended to be chronically under-dialysed (oedema, cardiomegaly)."

Whether such inequalities or Balkanising policies are sufficiently singular and immoral to warrant special condemnation at the World Health Assembly is another matter. Whereas the Middle East as a whole managed only a 17.7 percent inoculation rate with DPT and TOPV by the age of one year and 36 percent by the age of five, Israel can point to a reported 90 percent coverage in the occupied territories. Sweden's delegate to the WHA observed in 1981 that the "Special Committee of Experts had given on the whole a balanced picture of the health situation in the occupied territories which was not, however, reflected in the draft resolution."

To which one should only add that health and health services are willy nilly as political as every other issue of life and death. ■

WEEKLY REVIEW

Palestinian nurses and other medical personnel attend a conference on the occasion of international Nursing Day August 12 at al-Hambra Cinema in Jerusalem./AO photo

August 7, 1985

CRM MEMBERS MEET PALESTINIANS

Three members of the Israeli Citizen's Rights Movement — Shulamit Aloni, Yossi Sarid and Mordechai Bar On — met with four Palestinian figures from the West Bank and Gaza Strip and exchanged with them views on efforts to achieve peace in the Middle East. The two sides stressed the importance of making all necessary efforts to bring about peace between the two people on the basis of mutual recognition of their rights to self-determination in the land of Palestine.

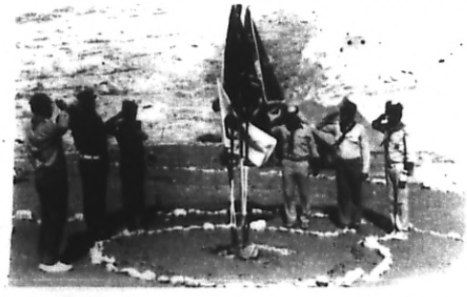
The CRM members condemned the arbitrary measures taken by the Israeli government against Palestinians in the occupied territories, namely collective punishment, deportation and administrative detentions. The four Palestinians who attended the meeting were Hanna Siniora, Mustafa al-Natsheh, Ziad Abu Zayyad and Zuheir al-Rayyes.

BRITAIN REGRETS NEW MEASURES

Britain has expressed deep regret over the recent acts of violence in Israel and the occupied territories. A spokesperson for the Foreign Ministry said: "We regret the measures taken by the Israeli government, such as administrative detentions, deportations and the two-month closure of an-Najah University in Nablus."

TEACHER SACKED

Israeli authorities notified Iman Ihsan al-Taher, a teacher at the Ramallah Teachers' Government College, that she was dismissed from her job as of September 1. No reasons were given for this measure.



Five Jerusalem area scout troupes participated in a one-day camp August 9 at Sur Baher./AO photo

GAZA YOUTHS JAILED FOR MEMBERSHIP

An Israeli military court in Gaza sentenced Ibrahim Mohammed al-Mabasher from Khan Younis to 15 months in prison and a similar suspended sentence on charges of membership in a Palestinian organisation and weapons training. The court also sentenced Zakariya Dahman Abu Sultan from al-Shate' camp to 1 year in jail and 1.5 years suspended on charges of membership in a Palestinian organisation and distributing leaflets.

Fayez Mohammed Abu Jabal, from Jabalya refugee camp, was given 1 year in prison and a similar suspended sentence by the same court on charges of membership in a Palestinian organisation. Hamdi Ali Ghanem, from al-Rimal quarter in Gaza, was sentenced to 21 months in prison and 15 months suspended on charges of possessing two bombs.

NABLUS MEN HELD FOR PETROL BOMBS

Israeli security forces have detained a number of youths from Nablus on charges of throwing petrol bombs at a border police patrol in Ein Beit al-Ma' refugee camp near Nablus August 3. Israel Radio claimed the detainees had confessed to carrying out the attack.

DOCTOR'S CAR TORCHED

Arsonists set fire to the car of Dr Peter Qamri, head of the surgery department at al-Hussein Hospital in Bethlehem. The car was completely destroyed. Police are investigating.

August 8, 1985

BETHLEHEM STUDENTS WARNED: NO POLITICS

The Israeli military governor of Bethlehem summoned members of the Student Council at Bethlehem University and threatened to take measures against the university should the students carry out political or union activities.

PETROL BOMB

A petrol bomb was hurled at an Israeli car as it passed near Tulkarm, Israel Radio reported. No injuries or damages were reported, and security forces scoured the area, the radio report said.

MILITARY ORDERS LAND RETURNED TO OWNERS

Landowners from the village of Saffa in the Ramallah district won a military order against a number of Israeli companies which had grabbed 650 dunums from the village land. The order requires the companies to take their hands off the land and allow the owners to use it.

KAHANE'S MEN STONE ARABS

Thugs from MK Meir Kahane's racist Kach movement threw stones at Arab-owned vehicles as they drove near Beit Shemesh on the road to Hebron. A number of passengers were wounded and several windows shattered.

BZU STUDENT GETS 25 YEARS

An Israeli military court in Lydda sentenced Mohammed Mansour from the village of Bala' in the Ramallah district to 25 years in prison. Mansour, who is a student at Bir Zeit University, was charged with membership in a Palestinian organisation and placing a bomb on an Israeli bus.

GAZANS SENTENCED FOR MEMBERSHIP

An Israeli military court in Gaza sentenced Hamdan Mahmoud Abu Ma'rouf, 40, from Khan Younis, to 4 years in prison on charges of membership in a Palestinian organisation, recruiting others and planting a bomb in Khan Younis. The court also sentenced: Maher Abd al-Rahim Baker, 19, from al-Shate' camp, to 1 year in prison and a similar suspended sentence on charges of membership in a Palestinian organisation; Mahmoud Yussef Dahlan, 19, from Gaza to 1 year in prison for membership; Issam Mahmoud al-Da'alsah, 23, from al-Sheikh Radwan, to 1 year in prison for membership; Nabil Mohammed Abbas, 22, from al-Shate' to 16 months in prison for membership and recruiting others; and engineer Muhyee al-Din al-Farra to 1.5 years in prison and a similar suspended sentence for membership.

August 9, 1985

FREIJ INVITED TO BRITISH LABOUR CONFERENCE

Bethlehem Mayor Elias Freij received an invitation from the British Labour Party to attend its 84th annual conference which will be held in Portmouth on September 29.

JAILED FOR STONES

An Israeli military court in Ramallah sentenced Jamal Anis al-Tarifi from Jalazon refugee camp to 3 months in prison and a IS300,000 fine on charges of throwing stones at Israeli vehicles. Mahdi Yassin of Nablus was sentenced by the same court to 8 months in prison on identical charges.

6 YEARS FOR MEMBERSHIP

An Israeli military court in Nablus sentenced Bashar Bani Jaber and Rajeh Bani Fadel, from the village of Akraba in the Nablus district, to 6 years in prison on charges of membership in a Palestinian organisation, recruiting others and illegal possession of weapons.

Midyan Yunis, also from Akraba, was sentenced to 4 months in jail and 6 months suspended on charges of membership and stone-throwing.

PETROL BOMB IN BALATA

A petrol bomb was thrown at the home of a policeman in Balata refugee camp outside Nablus. Israel Radio reported no injuries or damages.

August 11, 1985

PETROL BOMBS IN GAZA STRIP

Two petrol bombs were hurled at two military vehicles in Jabalya and Khan Younis in the Gaza Strip. Israel Radio said no one was hurt in either incident.

The radio said a third petrol bomb was thrown at an Israeli car as it drove out of the Gaza Strip last night. No injuries or damages were reported. Troops and policemen sealed off the area and conducted an intensive search, the radio report said.

HEBRON YOUTHS SENTENCED

An Israeli military court in Ramallah sentenced three youths from the villages of Dura and Dhahriya in the Hebron area to 6 months in prison, 1 year suspended and a IS1 million fine on security charges. The three are Riyad Hassan al-Tal, Mujahid Khalil al-Waridat and Ghaleb Badawi al-Waridat.

JABALYA RESIDENT SENTENCED

In Gaza, an Israeli military court sentenced Hassan Mohammed Ahmad Sa'deh, 31, from Jabalya refugee camp to 1.5 months in prison and a IS1

million fine on charges of assaulting a soldier and hindering his duties.

NABLUS TEENAGERS JAILED ON 'SECURITY' CHARGES

In Nablus, Fattah Salim al-Jallad, 16, and Khaled Ibrahim al-Jayousi, 16, both from Tulkarm, were sentenced to 1 month in prison, 6 months suspended and a IS450,000 fine each, on security charges.

ISRAELI CAR STONED

An Israeli car was stoned and one of its windows smashed as it passed through Shu'fat on its way from Jerusalem to the settlement of Neve Yacoub. No one was hurt.

August 12, 1985

MOLOTOV COCKTAILS IN KHAN YOUNIS

A molotov cocktail was thrown at an Israeli truck as it drove east of Khan Younis in the Gaza Strip. The driver was lightly hurt, and troops and border policemen sealed off the area and began a search for the attackers.

ASQALAN BOMB DEFUSED

A bomb was found and safely dismantled at the entrance to the Israeli city of Asqalan, police said. Several Arabs were rounded up for questioning.

7 ARBOUNA YOUTHS FREED

Seven residents of the village of Arbouna in the Jenin district who were arrested after two Israeli teachers from Afula were slain have been released. Three other youths from Arbouna have been charged with killing the teachers.

August 13, 1985

ISSAWIYEH HOME RAZED

Israeli bulldozers demolished the home of Na'im Mousa Muheisen in the village of Issawiyeh just northeast of Jerusalem on the pretext that it had been built without a licence. The demolition was carried out without resistance and under armed police guard.

3000 UJAH DUNUMS GRABBED

Approximately 3000 dunums of land belonging to the village of Ujah were confiscated by the Israeli military authorities this week. Landowners have appealed to various Israeli courts against the confiscation.

PETROL BOMB IN QALQILYA

A petrol bomb was tossed at an Israeli car as it drove through the centre of Qalqilya. Israel Radio said no one was hurt and no damage was done.

SHAWWA MEETS PERES

Israeli prime minister Shimon Peres conferred last night in his residence in West Jerusalem with Gaza's deposed mayor Rashad al-Shawwa. Israel Radio said the two discussed ways of boosting the peace process in the Middle East.

2 POLICEMEN JAILED FOR BEATING ARAB

Two Israeli border policemen were sentenced to 2 weeks in jail and fines of up to IS300,000 on charges of beating an Arab with clubs in the Israeli town of Petah Tikva.

Members of the Action Committee Against Deportation protest the latest measure of repressive military actions on the West Bank.

HEAVY SENTENCES FOR PETROL BOMBS

An Israeli military court in Nablus sentenced Zuheir Mohammed Abu Aziz of Jenin to 6 years in prison and 1 year suspended on charges of hurling three petrol bombs at border police units in Jenin. The court also sentenced Fahd Hanin of Beit Furik to 6 years in prison and 3 years suspended on charges of making petrol bombs, weapons training, raising Palestinian flags and illegal possession of bullets.

Nasr al-Din Abu Kishek from al-Fara'a refugee camp was given 4.5 years in prison and 2.5 years suspended on charges of hurling petrol bombs at military vehicles.

JABALYA RESIDENT JAILED FOR MEMBERSHIP

In Gaza, an Israeli military court sentenced Mohammed Rushdi Ramadan al-Zarak from Jabalya camp to 1.5 years in prison and 2 years suspended on charges of membership in a Palestinian organisation.

RAMALLAH COURT SENTENCES 7 RESIDENTS

In Ramallah, a military court sentenced Fa'ed Wahid al-Hamdallah and Nasser Ibrahim Okeh to 2.5 months in prison, 6.5 months suspended and a IS200,000 fine on charges of raising the Palestinian flag. The court also sentenced Hammad Abu Nafiseh of Nablus to 2 years in prison and a similar suspended sentence on charges of membership in a Palestinian organisation, possession of a hand grenade and making a petrol bomb.

Maher Husni Sbeih from Kufr Ra'i was sentenced to 26 months in prison and 24 months suspended, on identical charges. Nadim Ahmad Abu Shamieh from Ya'bad was sentenced to 10 months in prison and a similar suspended sentence and Usama Hassan Atatreh, also from Ya'bad, was sentenced to 4 months in jail and 6 months suspended. The two were charged with membership in a Palestinian organisation and attempted killing of a suspected collaborator. The court also sentenced Imad Darwazeh of Nablus to 3 years in prison and 2 years suspended on charges of travelling to Lebanon, weapons training and attempting to buy arms in the West Bank.

Nairobi

Continued from page 16

"I had tears in my eyes when, after an Israeli panelist claimed that Zionism is a woman-liberating ideology, a South African woman took the floor and said, 'I, for one, as a woman refuse to be liberated by an ideology that is backing the racist apartheid rule in my country. Not only do I oppose Zionism, I resent it. My hatred for Zionism I swallowed along with my mother's milk.' " Jubah said the Israeli panelist replied by denying her government's involvement in the apartheid system in South Africa and referred to a recent statement by Israeli officials in which they declared their 'regret' over the use of violence by South African authorities against reprising black inhabitants. "We could only laugh at such deceit. No one even bothered to refute her arguments," said Miri'i.

According to the Palestinian women and to testimonies by returning Israeli delegates published in the Hebrew press, the Israeli delegation was totally unprepared for the overwhelming support the Palestinians were given and the alienating defeat they were faced with during the conference. What added to their dilemma were the differences they faced among themselves. They differed in political background and loyalty. They also lacked historical data to prove their claims.

"The Israeli women, totalling over 80, were continually bickering over their strategy and method of dealing with strong waves of attack on Zionism and Israeli practices in the occupied territories," said Rashmawi. "They were even more perplexed by the attacks from left-wingers and non-Zionists from their own group, let alone those from other non-Arab delegates." The Israeli delegation had apparently counted on the possibility of disunity in the Palestinian ranks but were shocked to learn otherwise. The Palestinian delegation, composed of over 40 women from all over the world, was united. "They had put aside their loyalties to this or that faction and they spoke with one voice," said Sama Oweidah from Jerusalem. "They acted as a model for all Palestinians who ought to redefine their common enemy and ignore factional strife," she added.

The Palestinian women, in cooperation with the Prague-based International Union for Democratic Women, held meetings before and after their workshops to plan their strategies and later evaluate their actions. "Rationality was the common goal," said Oweidah. "They were not to be emotional in their speeches and they were not to use rhetoric but rather hardcore documentations and factual data to support their claims; and it worked."

Worked it did. The first part of the conference, dubbed the NGO (non-governmental) forum ended with a clear victory for the Palestinian women and their argument. They had attracted to their side almost every world delegation except the Israeli and official American delegations. "Gathering support for our cause is what we went to Nairobi for and I think we obtained quadruple the support we hoped for," said Miri'i.

The official conference was another story, however. That is when the delegations act upon direct orders from and in line with the policies of their respective governments. Palestinian and other delegations lobbied for the inclusion of a statement condemning Zionism and equating it with racism in the concluding conference statement. Instead, they won only a condemnation of "all forms of racism" in general. The reason for that was American pressure da European and some Third World countries to oppose the Arab-sponsored proposal. On the morning of the final conference day, Maureen Reagan, who headed the American delegation, distributed copies of a letter signed by her father, the president of the US, urging "all friendly countries" to stand by the US delegation in its attempt to abort the slaughter on Zionism and Israel. Reagan also declared her intentions to walk out of the conference if the Arab attempt was not foiled.

After intensive discussions, during which the Kenyan government delegation acted as arbitrator, the Americans got their way. The final document which spoke of Palestinian rights to sovereignty and called for general assistance to Palestinian women under occupation was approved. Israel, the US and Australia voted against the document, 34 countries abstained and 97 voted in favour.

Despite the final compromise, the Palestinian women felt the conference was a success. Their immediate preoccupation now is whether the Israeli authorities will harass them further for attending the conference. "Some of the new friends I made in Nairobi phone me almost daily to check on my wellbeing. The Israelis have not called me in yet because they know that someone out there is watching. They may want to wait until things cool down before they do anything. Our struggle as women under occupation will meanwhile go on," said one of the women. Indeed, Nairobi was only a beginning. ■

Palestinian Delegation Tells of Victory at Nairobi

by Baher Ashhab

Identifying herself as Lisa Bujorn, a 22-year-old Jewish member of the Swedish delegation to the UN Conference on Women at Nairobi, grasps the microphone during a workshop entitled Women in Israeli Education led by Israeli Tsipora Tubi. Bujorn is visibly upset by what her fellow Israeli — member of the Israeli communist party Rakah — is telling the audience. "You are not telling the truth," she cries, her voice trembling but intensifying. "You are deceiving your audience. Zionism is a liberation movement and not the evil ideology you describe. Zionism is the only hope for Jewish existence. That is what I was told, and what I believe." She drops the microphone, sticks out her tongue at the audience of more than 30 delegates and rushes out of the room.

Two days later, on the morning of July 17, Lisa demands the floor, this time at a workshop on conditions of Palestinian women refugees led by PLO delegate Salwa Abu Khadra. Without waiting for recognition, Lisa cries, "That's a lie. How could you say those things about Zionism? It is not fair. It is not fair." The audience, by now expecting her outburst, alternatively laughed at her and tried to hush her. She broke into tears and left the room.

Again two days later on July 19, Lisa enters the Peace Tent, established by conference organisers to allow for general discussions and individual statements. She quietly signs her name on the list of speakers. When she is called to speak, she stands calmly and while fighting back tears addresses Tubi and Abu Khadra, both present in the tent. Much to the shock of her audience, Lisa apologises. "I have never realised what a fool I have been for all these years," she said. "And how naive and trusting I was of my Zionist educators and Israeli propaganda. This conference has been an eye-opener for me. In the past two days, I have learned enough to understand what Zionism really is and what **Zionists have inflicted on the Palestinian people."** The audience, consisting mostly of African, Latin American and Arab delegates still in shock from Lisa's unexpected bombshell break into feverish applause. Several Palestinian women jump up and hug her. Three Israeli women watching in shock leave the tent in dismay.

Lisa's story was perhaps the most dramatic victory in a series of smaller ones for the Palestinian delegation. The returning delegates eagerly shared with *Al Fajr* events throughout the week.

On the opening day of the official UN conference, July 15, a group of Israeli women gathered around a Palestinian delegate responsible for more than 50 posters and photographs on display. They portrayed the poor condition of women in Lebanon and the occupied territories. The Israelis told the Palestinian delegate they doubted the authenticity of the photographs. "These could have been taken during any war in the Middle East, like the Iran-Iraq war for one," said one of the women. "You cannot prove that Israel did all that to these women."

A heated debate began and visitors to the exhibit eagerly circled around so as not to miss a word. A Singalese delegate, one of the few men attending the conference, approached the inner circle and effectively closed the debate by telling the women he was indeed a witness to the accuracy of the photographs and the story they told. The man had been a member of the UNIFIL forces in Lebanon during the 1982 Israeli invasion of Lebanon. "These pictures only portray a small part of the atrocities committed by Israeli troops in Lebanon," he said. "I was there and I've seen worse things. I am sure the situation in the occupied territories is no better." The Israeli women left the room in despair.

On July 16 Palestinian and other Arab delegates were protesting at the entrance to a workshop on Israeli-Egyptian dialogue led by a panel of three Israeli delegates. Kenyan security personnel had orders to prevent the Arab delegates from entering the room for fear of yet another confrontation. They told the protesting women that there were no seats in the room. Ten minutes later the women got their way and forcibly entered the room.

The Israeli panel spoke and told the audience that the Camp David accords were the best thing to ever happen to the Middle East. After urging all other Arab states to follow in Egypt's footsteps, they opened the floor for discussion. Ignoring the dozens of raised hands of Arab and African delegates, the panelists gave the floor to one delegate after another — either American or Jewish — whose questions only required more praise of the accords in response. Voices of protest were heard throughout the room and one African delegate accused the panelists of outright bias. "How come you did not have an Egyptian panelist to tell us their half of the story?" she asked. "You cannot speak for them. You have to let non-Zionists question you as well." The audience applauded and one of the Israeli panelists called for order, threatening to halt the workshop if the audience was not silenced.

Other Israeli panelists left the platform and called for Kenyan security women to interfere. According to conference regulations, this was illegal, yet the security women entered the room only to be forced out by an angry audience. By then, a young delegate from Northern Ireland had grabbed the microphone in which she shouted, "Let the people speak. Down with the Zionists!" The Israeli, American and Jewish delegates, who were rushing out of the room, turned back and total silence engulfed the room. A Palestinian delegate soon broke the silence by requesting the microphone. She spoke for a few minutes and then handed it over to a South African delegate and then to others, all of whom had something to say against the Camp David accords and Zionist infiltration in the Middle East. The three Israeli panelists watched but did not demand the floor.

For the local Palestinian women who attended the gathering, these shows of support were invigorating and rewarding. "I had no idea that there were millions out there in the world who know about the Palestinian crisis and the atrocities of Israeli occupation, and who sympathise with me as a Palestinian woman under military rule. The whole affair was heartwarming," said Ramallah resident Amal Jubah. Jubah is a member of the Women's Work Committee. She recounted to *Al Fajr* her story of the conference beginning with harassment by Israeli intelligence agents at Ben Gurion Airport. They caused her to miss her plane because of an intensive search in which they ordered her to wait while they checked her background.

"The intensive security check at the Israeli airport made me doubtful that I would make it to the conference," Jubah said. "I thought I was to become number 11 on the list of women who were prohibited to go to Nairobi. The intelligence officers knowingly made me miss my British Airways plane, and only three hours later, put me on an El Al plane to Nairobi. I later realised that this was intended to frighten me and decrease my momentum for the conference. Other women who left the country via the airport were also harassed in a similar manner."

Israeli intelligence did not stop at that, according to the women. They were followed by Israeli *Mossad* agents wherever they went at the conference and during sightseeing tours in the Kenyan capital. "We were first made aware of these men when Tsipora Tubi the leftist Israeli delegate pointed them out to us. She said they were tracking her as well. Sure enough at least one of them was in the workshops I attended, in the Peace Tent and in the restaurant where I ate," said Muna Rashmawi, a Ramallah advocate and member of the Law in the Service of Man. Muna was so frustrated by the constant surveillance of one of these men that she went up to him and demanded an explanation for his actions to which he plainly replied, "I'm only doing my job." The man was later seen on several occasions conferring with Israeli delegation head Galia Golan.

According to Samar Miri'i, a Jerusalem resident, the harassment did not stop with the *Mossad* agents, but was also felt from members of the Israeli delegation and, in some degree, by the Kenyan authorities. "An Israeli woman came up to me after I had made a statement in the Peace Tent, childishly shook her fist in my face and said 'Wait till you go back to Israel. There you will be taught a good lesson.' She also dared me to repeat my statements in Israel," said Miri'i. The Israeli delegates also repeatedly called the Palestinian women liars and, in one case, pushed a woman to the ground. Quick interference by a Kenyan policewoman prevented a scuffle between the two foes.

The Kenyan police, according to Amal Nashashibi, a delegate from Jerusalem, also contributed to the harassment. They confiscated copies of a brochure she had made and intended to distribute at the Nairobi conference. They also prohibited the screening of a film by Lebanese Jewish artist Hini Srour called "Leila and the Wolves" that dealt with Palestinian and Lebanese women since the establishment of the state of Israel. Only after an intense protest to conference organisers did the authorities release the confiscated material and allow the screening of the film.

According to all of the women interviewed, the Kenyan authorities made it clear from the beginning that they were predisposed towards the Israelis and Americans. This was evident in their distribution of workshop spaces whereby large spots were given to the Israelis and small ones to the Palestinians. "They were also advocating the American stand on the gathering: no discussion on Zionism, apartheid or American-related ordeals in Latin America," said Miri'i.

"The high point of the trip was when a delegate from South Africa or Ireland or El Salvador would stand up and condemn Zionism and Zionist practices in the Middle East. I often felt embarrassed that they were able to express their feelings towards my own crisis better than I," said Jubah.

Continued on page 15